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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 10, October 1990

Labor Career From the Standpoint of the Life Cycle

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[Article by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Komozin, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior science associate at the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School Under the Komsomol Central Committee. The author is a permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] The numerous sacrifices made by the people in the course of collectivization and industrialization were justified by the humanistic supergoal of forming a "new man." Economic efficiency, social security and legal protection were sacrifices precisely to this abstract person. The current desire of scientists to bring the economy "back down to earth" and force it to serve specific persons is understandable.

One of the possible ways to get rid of abstract humanism is to look at the economy from the position of typical human fate. In other words, to analyze to what degree the current model of economic management meets the needs of people in the various stages of the life cycle. For this, it is essential to view the level of consumption and the labor return of people depending upon age, that is, the belonging to a specific generation. But this is not enough. It is important to know the subjective needs and motives of actions and correlate in the mechanism of realizing possibilities its objective and subjective components. It is a question of considering the age or "generational" factor in economic sociology.

Incidentally, such an assertion is not completely correct. It is not a matter of considering the age factor. To some degree this has been done before, for example, in granting pensions or providing additional benefits for the youth. However, more often this happened accidentally. Age was presented as some "disturbing" factor which could be considered or possibly could not be considered. Sociology from the standpoint of the life cycle has introduced serious corrections into the established views.

It is felt that viewing the economy through the prism of changing generations upsets the unshakability of class views in accord with which the interests of people have always and uniformly been related to the social position of a person, with what, where and with whom he works: as a worker or engineer, on a kolkhoz or in industry. But what happens with a person who is initially a worker and then an engineer? Or, conversely, in having an engineer diploma he goes to work on a machine. How should we classify a kolkhoz member who studies by correspondence to be an agronomist but who has been shifted to the category of urban dweller and has become a renter?

What interests are closer to him: those of the worker or the engineer? Whose interests does he express as a representative of a certain social group? And how does belonging to different age groups tell on social affiliation? At the age of 20 he was a worker, at 35 he was an engineer and at 50 a manager. Different ages, different social positions but the person is the same.

The absolutizing of the class approach is not in the fact that the interests of social groups were considered only and solely depending upon their abstractly understood place in the production relations. And it was not even in the fact that all other interest with the exception of class ones were ignored. The scientific dogmatism was rather that nonclass values were viewed as harmful and were suppressed for the sake of the one sole and "most advanced" class.

In sociology, the problem of a career has been determined primarily within the context of the education of a person, his general and vocational training, the choice of a profession and the adaptation of those newly hired for a job [1-3]. The object of the research was, as a rule, young persons up to 20-25 years of age. The older ages were not taken into account and then pensioners became the subject of analysis [4]. But the very trajectory of a person's movement along his path of life including family and job, as a chain of interrelated changes, unfortunately, was not the object of systematic examination. However, an attempt to posit such a problem precisely as a scientific one can clearly be traced.

Why could such a thing happen? The reason, in my view, is that the conceptual apparatus of labor sociology has been focused primarily on group and socioclass processes. An important role was also played by the circumstance that the terminology by which one endeavored to fix the specific features of the new approach had not yet been completely worked out. The proposed concepts had not become established in scientific usage and had not assumed a clear methodological status. For this reason, the theoretical context of labor sociology was open to new knowledge. In principle it was not closed precisely because the patterns which should be studied in this area were of a problematic and sometimes deductive-hypothetical nature. Naturally, the isolating of the problem situation was also difficult, that is, from what the research should commence in aiming at isolating a scientifically based knowledge. In this context even in the first stage of theoretical analysis, it is essential to isolate the concept which fixes the content of the initial problem situation, that is, determining the typical destiny of a human life. Such a concept, in my opinion, should be the concept of a labor career.

Why precisely can this term claim the status of a scientific concept which is central if one views the economy from the standpoint of human fate?

In the first place, the concept of a labor career characterizes the socialization of the individual in its basic, if it can be so put, fatal and socially important sphere, labor

activity. Secondly, the given concept emphasizes the role of the individual personal principle in social life. Even now scientists describe social life in such a manner that social progress is possible here only en masse, as a crowd, a formation, classes and groups. The words "privitization," "private life" and "career" up to now have been suspect among the zealots of the ideals of barracks communism. The notion of a labor career assumes the extending of the sphere of the things conforming to the law to individual fate, that is, to an object which in accord with the simplistically interpreted principles of theory would ordinarily be linked to the socioclass status of a person. Patterns relating to an individual, if they were allowed, were considered to be exclusively psychological or at best sociopsychological. The status of objective patterns in relation to such a specific object were rejected out of hand.

It should be said in this regard that the delimiting into the objective natural (economic) and subjective unnatural (psychological) knowledge made it possible imperceptibly to manipulate the conscience and conduct of people. We were all challenged to equal the most advanced laws of "developed socialism" which would bring the greatest goods to the people. On the contrary, the indelibly personal lay outside the sphere of objective laws and higher purpose. This was considered in the area of the individual psyche and viewed as something not typical, temporary or exceptional.

Thirdly, the concept of a labor career is a definite method of relating to value and to historical time. In it is found the existential sign of a human fate of my typical contemporary who had the misfortune to be born in the age of the administrative system. This sign is a chronic falling behind, a delay of man in solving his natural problems and in realizing his sense and fate in life. The creative potential is not realized, the goal of life is not achieved, conditions seal off the emergence of emotions and there is a profound feeling of belonging to the "lost generation." A generation which is measurable not demographically but rather existentially. To promptly receive a good education, to promptly achieve a high level of skill and the corresponding wage in order to support a family independently and properly; to give one's children an education, to feel oneself a professional satisfaction and a satisfaction from the fact that you in this life have all the same achieved a solid social position—these are the main value priorities which determine the stages of a path of life in any social system. One can consider them the basic postulates for a normal labor career. According to the data of our research (this will be taken up further), the delay in resolving social problems such as professional maturity, the level of wages and income, the resolving of the housing question and so forth averages 10-15 years. As a result, those landmarks in life which should be a subject of pride and self-affirmation frequently become the grounds for frustration and dissatisfaction.

The concept of a labor career, in fixing the existing delay or contradiction in professional and social advancement

makes it possible to define oneself more precisely with a choice of the research methodology. Up to the present moment two extreme approaches have come into being. In one instance, the problems of the socially unprotected age groups—youth and elderly—were viewed as natural or temporary difficulties which in a way is correct. The youth is less prepared for professional activities and the elderly have lost or are losing their skill habits and they have less energy for active social adaptation. These are a sort of two boundary groups: the youth mature and move to a different social quality while the elderly simply die. So, seemingly there is nothing that need be done with them.

In accord with the other approach, and it is becoming evermore popular, it is proposed that the differences in the social support for the young, the middle-aged and elderly be eliminated chiefly by redistributing income in favor of the "weak." This idea has its logic which is not to the liking primarily of the middle-aged persons who assume on their shoulders the burden of concern for the social disabled. The typical response to a law on the youth (the Law on the Principles of State Youth Policy) is as follows: why should these young persons receive benefits which I did not have at my time; they receive an apartment right away while I had to wait 20 years.

For me, the solution lies not in distributing things equally but rather in producing more. The concept of a labor career differentiates producers by the age feature, however it is not aimed at confrontation but rather at the natural change of generations and their mutual dependence. Although relative separateness, autonomy of socioeconomic interests are not only not excluded but, on the contrary, are considered even more completely and strictly. The overcoming of the chronic delay and which is hard to call a career is not so much in granting benefits to the "weak" as it is having the "weak" become stronger, in other words, in eliminating the man-made restrictions and overcoming the mechanisms of inhibition on the path of life of others.

And, finally, one last thing. The concept of a labor career characterizes the drawing together of two sciences, economics and sociology. This signals the appearance of a third science which links them, economic sociology. Precisely such a concept unites both trends which can be clearly traced recently, the sociologization of economics, that is, a desire for its "humanization" which in practice often comes down to imposing on the existing management mechanism subjective aspirations and desires of people, and the economization of sociology, the giving of greater soundness and reliability to it in conclusions and recommendations. Having correctly posited the question of the need to study the path of life, sociologists have limited themselves to studying the subjective intentions in choosing a vocation. As a result, the socioeconomic context of choosing a vocation and most importantly, further advancement along this path, that is, the labor career per se, were merely designated but were virtually not investigated.

The author is far from concluding that a sociological concept of a labor career can be created now. Such a theory cannot be elaborated all at once and once and for all. In the first stages there arises the so-called test theory which is a hypothetical model of the subject of research and which is confirmed by a certain aggregate of empirical data. It is important to correctly formulate not only the basic theoretical assumptions which subsequently will perform the role of the monocrystal which produces the new knowledge but also the empirical foundation for the concept of a labor career. In our case such a foundation would be data on vocational training and wages which are two variables which describe the structure of the initial concept.

Vocational Training

Modern production demands a rise in skills from the workers every 4 or 5 years. In the leading firms of Japan, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the weekly working time budget is allocated for study. In our nation the question of whether or not there should be ongoing worker education has been bandied about for at least 10 years or so, but up to now there has been virtually no practical results. And as a consequence, in our country, in contrast to all the developed nations and a majority of the developing ones, the demand for a low-skill labor force is growing and not declining. According to the data of Leningrad sociologists, the average worker reaches his skill peak at the age of 40-45 [5], that is, at the very moment when the ability to learn declines sharply. The store of our physical and intellectual forces begins to decline here. There is the next delay in the life and vocational fate of a person.

In order for a worker to be able to grow professionally without falling behind the demands of production, at the initial stage of his career he should be trained for the future, considering the new technologies about to be introduced. Unfortunately, this does not happen for a whole series of objective and subjective factors. In the first place, there is a serious lag in the physical plant of the institutions of learning. The share of progressive equipment in the shops of the PTU [vocational technical schools] does not exceed 1.5 percent and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the machine tools is 30 years of age [5]. Secondly, there has been a decline in the significance of vocational knowledge in the eyes of the young people. According to the research data at the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School Under the Komsomol Central Committee and carried out in 1988-1989 with the author's participation, only from 20 to 30 percent of the schoolchildren and the PTU students pointed to the necessity of having a good general education preparation. The results of more than 20 years of research carried out under the leadership of V.N. Shubkin in the guidance of schoolchildren have shown that along with an obvious decline in the prestige of scientific professions (physicists, biologists and so forth), there has been a sharp rise in the prestige of the salesperson profession [2].

Indifference and consumer motives in choosing a profession, along with the lack of a sufficient physical plant for obtaining a high-quality education end up as a

profound disappointment for the young people at the very outset of their career. According to our data, only in $\frac{1}{2}$ of the working youth does their profession coincide with the one which they acquired during the period of instruction in the PTU, technical school or VUZ. According to the self-assessment of the young persons, 27 percent of them were forced to work in a lower skill than they had acquired during their studies. Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the young persons who began their labor life in the last 2 or 3 years would change their profession, namely: 48 percent of the workers, 46 percent of the engineer and technical personnel and 57 percent of those working in trade and the service sphere.

Probably the "mechanisms of inhibition" are most clearly apparent in the training of the superior vocational detachment of workers, the engineers. In only 1 out of 5 of the surveyed young specialists did the content of job practice coincide completely with the content of production activities after completing the VUZ. Some 48 percent pointed to a partial coinciding and 34 percent replied that their production experience had nothing in common with their current job. Moreover, 62 percent of the respondents felt that the VUZ had not provided them with the specific knowledge in their specialty. Incidentally, an insufficient level of preparation at times coexists with low skill demands imposed by production. It is hard to say what the cause is here and what the consequence. But it is a fact that only 7 percent of the young engineers questioned pointed to the conformity of the product produced at their enterprises to the world level; the remainder stated more or less a lag. Not 1 out of over 1,000 specialists questioned from various regions of the nation considers the prestige of engineer labor to be high. Less than 10 percent of them viewed their labor activity as unconditionally socially useful and only $\frac{1}{4}$ felt that a higher education was required for the job they were performing. Only 35 percent of the young engineers see an opportunity in the next 2 or 3 years to transfer to a more interesting, specifically engineering job. In the opinion of O. Shkaratan, it is precisely in the first 5-7 years after completing the VUZ that the sharp discrepancy arises in the skill level between the engineers in the USSR and the United States. In the United States there is serious growth while here there is a slow "slide" in a profession.

The absence of sufficient vocational training causes the young people, in using sports language, "to be slow at the gate," and this in a most negative manner is felt in the entire labor career and hence in life as a whole.

Wages

The forms of wages which exist at state enterprises provide little incentive for the people to work efficiently. Such a fact has been noticed by virtually all categories, strata and age groups of the workers. According to the data of a 1990 poll, around 10 percent felt that wages

provided "a great incentive." Wage leveling is mentioned as the main reason. This was pointed out by over 80 percent of those questioned. Formal cost accounting reproduces the wage leveling when the results of an enterprise's operations are determined by the superior bodies and not by a market. The medium and poorer workers stand to benefit economically. Certainly they spend less effort per ruble of wage. A "reverse" competition mechanism is objectively at work and this destroys labor morale. The personnel begins competing not to see who can produce more but who manufactures less product.

One of the manifestations of the "reverse" competition is the practice of restriction or the unannounced setting of rules of conduct by which one is considered unloyal toward one's comrades by showing too much endeavor and overfulfilling the output norms. According to our data, approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of the workers share the opinion that it is not advantageous to significantly overfulfill the quotas for this leads to an automatic drop in the rates. As a rule, this is the opinion of the middle-aged worker categories, that is, the skilled personnel.

Thus, superimposed on the first delay, the "slow start," is another one encountered at the height of the labor career. This is the question of delayed remuneration, unjust wages and the conscious holding down of the wage ceiling by the management.

Research has shown the presence of significant reserves in production. Merely by intensification labor productivity could be raised by 1.5-fold. As a minimum the workers are ready to increase their output by the same amount with the appropriate wage.

Young workers respond to wages even more acutely and judge these more negatively. Such a fact has been generally known, although sociologists have explained it often proceeding from oversimplified approaches. Certainly it is not an issue so much as the unique awareness of the youth or the presence of a certain extremism and negativism in their perception of the world. It is not even a question that the youth is receiving fewer skilled workers with experience. Unfortunately, the logic of vocational and social advancement is not considered.

What specifically is the issue here? Let us clarify who should be considered in the category of young workers. The question is a far from formal one. In the statistical references, the category "youth" usually considers persons under the age of 30. For example, persons from 14 to 28 years of age can become members of a youth political organization of the Komsomol type. As we can see, the age spread is rather large. It is so broad that it brings together persons who have different economic and social interest, needs and goals. The working youth 17-18 years of age is one thing and those 25-29 years of age are quite different. Although precisely these age groups, as the research data indicate, demonstrate the highest level of dissatisfaction with the job, material situation and wages. They are very critical of the management and shortcomings in production.

Among the 18-year-olds, this is explained chiefly by difficulties of vocational development, familiarization with a strange environment and adaptation to production requirements. Among the "older" youth, labor motivation begins to be influenced by factors lying outside the production sphere and namely family and everyday needs. A unique scissors arises as by the age of 25, as an average, a person begins to earn more than before but his income drops in relation to expenditures on supporting a family and the birth of children.

How does this turn up in figures? According to the data of our research conducted in 1988-1989 in Moscow, the average wages of workers and white collar personnel at an age under the age of 20 was 125 rubles a month and their income, considering family status, was 103 rubles. For workers 21-25 years of age, with an increase in wages up to 130 rubles income per family member increased to 117 rubles. But then look what happens subsequently. For the workers 26-30 years of age, with an increase in wages to 165 rubles a month, the per capita income declines to 106 rubles. For those 31-35 years of age, average wages and per capita income are respectively 180 and 98 rubles. In the age group of 36-40 years, these are 230 and 99 rubles. In the older age groups, the trend changes and there is a simultaneous increase in both wages and per capita income. The sad but very widespread joke that "in a family only the first 20 years are hard" is confirmed by the results of scientific research.

The housing problem seriously complicates the situation. But this is a question of a separate discussion. Here I would merely point out that in the case of per capita income, noticeable improvements occur for persons who have reached 35-40 years of age.

However, the problem is not just one of quantitative characteristics, that is, low wages and a miserly family income. Although this has now become an acute social problem. Certainly a definite income level is essential for the normal reproduction of the labor force and for again providing normal mobility by evening out the starting opportunities of the youth belonging to the various social groups in society. It is not a question of leveling the income of the different-aged workers. Possibly the gap in wages will increase further with the transition to a market economy. But there is nothing bad in this. Wages must rise for all categories of workers. Without this it is impossible to count on the introduction of the innovations of the scientific and technical revolution as it would be better to use cheap manpower.

In wages one must clearly delimit economic incentives and social security. At present, they are mixed together. As a result, if neither one carries out its purpose, the wage system as a whole is inefficient.

What must be created for the normal passage of a person's labor career? It is essential to know firmly what a person receives for his labor as a worker and what he can count on as a member of society. Including also as the representative of one or another demographic group. In my view, it would

be economically more advisable and socially more justifiable to pay people openly and on legitimate rights for the number of years employed and thereby in a veiled manner redistribute the wage fund and keep pensioners "afloat." They should be earning well before retiring on a pension. In practice the management "gives a lift to the elderly," for example, by reassigning advantageous and disadvantageous jobs, assigning job categories, and making promotions depending upon length of employment and not upon end results. Such a "dole" is a vestige of our patriarchal system which in a surprising way coexisted with the ideology of superrevolutionariness (in fact, barracks communism). The protective and restrictive approach to young workers could be seen in philistine judgments such as "you are still young and you can live on this wage."

And so we have the following picture. Along with the official principles of payment supposedly according to labor, there are also informal standards, a sort of improper relationship and this to a greater degree than the official standards influence the conduct of people. Certainly, it is a question not of psychology, although the patriarchal traditions are persistent, but rather of economic practice. It is precisely this which distorts the trajectory of a path in life and forces people to construct their labor career by infinite adaptation to the production organization, in relying here not so much on their professional skills as upon their ability to satisfy the leadership, that is, to promptly join the ranks of the active social activists, to join the "ruling" group or offer oneself to its service. In other words, without overburdening oneself with work to calmly wait for promotion in a transition to a more privileged age category.

Let me be correctly understood. The privileges of the senior age categories are very relative. The 40-year-olds are actually solving "youth" problems still but with a delay of 10-15 years. To obtain an apartment at the age of 40 with having almost adult children—can this be considered really a major success in life? The apartment is needed at the age of 25, when one is getting married and one would prefer to live as an independent family. But as a rule, one must not count on the receiving or purchasing of housing in this period. Our human orientations from the very outset are determined by the relationships of distribution and not "earnability." This gives rise, on the one hand, to parasitism and unjustified claims in choosing a vocation and on the other, to mistrust in one's own forces and disappointment in the possibilities of professional growth and an adequate assessment of the labor contribution.

Let me repeat again. The main thing is not to justly distribute the meager resources of society but rather that people work more and better, in relying on their own forces, professional knowledge and abilities so that they can consciously organize their own life and destiny.

As to the factors which shape a labor career, for now one can speak of a mechanism of inhibition. It is a matter of semifeudal dependence which is imposed at the age of 16 by the registration system, of an undeveloped structure for

crediting the private interests of people, of a senseless practice of giving away housing, and the absence of the necessary social guarantees and at the same time, one of a developed system of bribes in the form of coupons, free trips and other benefits which the people have long since earned.

The point of my arguments is seen in establishing the validity and necessity of a view of the economy from the standpoint of human fate. The transition to a market economy is completely essential but it must not be felt that this automatically will solve all problems. Of course, a definite economic base will arise for introducing responsive "human technologies." As is happening, for example, in Japan or the United States where they have worked out and are constantly improving not only the strategy for shaping an ideal labor career, but also tactical variations for realizing it considering the starting opportunities, national features and social conditions. For our nation it is also essential to form a system of social and economic standards which would serve as guidelines for a person on his path of life. If, for instance, a person has chosen a worker career, then he should know that at the age of 20 (the times depend upon the vocation) he can obtain a skill which would provide material independence and after the age of 25 maintain a family budget on an acceptable level even with the birth of a child. The choice of a specialty requiring a longer period of instruction defers the achieving of certain social standards but does provide an opportunity in the long run to achieve other, higher standards, including by mastering a prestigious, creative profession.

In working out the models of a labor career as a system of economic and social standards, it would clearly be advisable to consider the national and historical features of our nation and its individual regions. This was how they proceeded in Japan where the economy has successfully integrated communal values. The United States is another example. Here the emphasis has been put on the desire for individual success and failures in a labor career are perceived as personal insolvency. Let us hope that with the return to a normal economy the life of people will follow the laws of a normal human fate.

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The Peak of Tension in the Year of the Horse

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[Article by Vladimir Olegovich Rukavishnikov, doctor of philosophical sciences and group leader at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; he has been repeatedly published in our journal]

[Text] While 5 or 10 years ago the phrase "social tension" was virtually absent in the vocabulary of the Soviet people, over the last 2 or 3 years it has become a customary description of the situation which has come into being in the course of perestroika around us. Just what does this intuitively clear concept mean? What is its content? In our scientific literature, as a bibliographic search has shown, up to now special works have been lacking on the given question. Incidentally, this is not surprising. Soviet social scientists only recently have been concerned with studying such phenomena. The current article presents the first results from carrying out the scientific research project on "The Dynamics of the Positions of Social Groups and Communities and Social Tension" carried out by the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences as part of the Program of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences "Social Development of Soviet Society: Indicators and Trends" and which began in April 1989.

In the autumn of 1989 and the spring (May) of 1990, in accord with the program of the scientific research project, mail questionnaires were sent out to the urban population of the nation as well as polls of the employed population of Gorkiy Oblast and the Kalmyk ASSR. In Gorkiy Oblast the poll was conducted in the autumn of 1989 in the city of Gorkiy and in the spring of 1990 in the towns of Gorkiy, Bor and other rural population points (settlements) and the volumes of the sampling aggregates were respectively 330 and 442 persons. In the Kalmyk ASSR, in the towns of Elista, Gorodovikovo and Kaspiysk, the sampling volume was 375 and 329 persons. In the mail poll 2,228 persons participated in the autumn and 1,790 persons in the spring and they were adult residents of over 750 population points in the nation, including all the oblast centers. The distribution of answers from the participants of the mail poll, the Gorkiy residents and the inhabitants of Kalmykia can be explained by both regional features in the sociopolitical situation as well as by differences in the structures of the sample aggregates and the methods of collecting the

information. The aggregate of participants in the mail poll differed from the two above-named in the fact that it included a significantly higher share of persons with a higher and incomplete higher education and young persons. Due to the designated skew, it can be considered representative only in terms of the socially active portion of the working population. The aggregate of participants in the mail poll satisfactorily reproduced the ratio of the individual weights of the urban population in the Union republics. Persons with a mastery of Russian answered the questionnaires.

A comparison of the obtained data provides an opportunity to draw definite conclusions on the dynamics, trends and nature of the views, positions and judgments most widespread in our society and obtain approximate quantitative assessments of the structure of mass awareness. It was not possible to assign various positions to categories of persons distributed along traditional sociodemographic features in any rigid or uniform manner and for this reason in the subsequent analysis in using the poll results we will rely on data characterizing the distribution of replies from the sampling aggregates of the respondents as a whole, considering the regional differences.

Social Tension—Concept and Phenomenon

Social tension, in being apparent primarily on the sociopsychological level, is characterized, in the first place, by the fact that in the broadest circles of the public a mood of dissatisfaction is widespread over the existing state of affairs in vitally important spheres of social life (this, according to the poll data, is primarily dissatisfaction with a rapid rise in prices, inflation, the depleting of the consumer market, the polluting of the environment as well as in a number of regions by the increased crime rate, unemployment, difficulties in finding jobs and the vocational training of youth and so forth) and a mood of dissatisfaction with social order in the broad sense of the word. Secondly, by the fact that under the influence of the above-named attitudes, confidence in the authorities is lost, the authority of power and the power of authority are reduced, the sensation of security disappears and pessimistic assessments of the future and all sorts of rumors are widespread, that is, in society as a whole (or in a separate territorial community) an atmosphere arises of mass mental disquiet and emotional excitement.

Social tension is also reflected and manifested not only in social attitudes, but also in mass actions such as speculating, the hoarding of goods and food products, in the enforced and voluntary migration of significant groups of persons to other regions or overseas, in the sharp intensification of activities of various sociopolitical movements, in the struggle for power and influence in the masses, in the actions of extremist groups, in spontaneous and organized meetings, demonstrations, strikes and other forms of civil disobedience.

Social tension, as a process, cannot help but have stages which differ in terms of their space-time parameters and forms of expression. In our opinion, there are three stages. The first in the course of which there is a rise in dissatisfaction which is still concealed from outside observers. Characteristic of this is an unorganized, chiefly verbal form of expressing dissatisfaction and concern over the multiplying disturbances of the customary course of things without any clear awareness of the causes and scale of changes occurring in social life. This stage can be called "grumbling in the kitchen or conversations in the smoking room."

The second is the stage of exacerbation and peak of tension. Its distinguishing feature is a clear awareness of the abnormality of the existing situation and the presence of social tension in society by a majority of the population. All the above-named features of a state of tension are present. Characteristic of this stage is the rise of centers (zones) of a sharp exacerbation of tension in individual regions and population points with a high level of tension existing everywhere in the nation. The third stage is a reduction (decline or elimination) of the tension, and a gradual disappearance of the features characteristic of this state of social life.

Social tension, like any other social phenomenon, has its own intrinsic mechanism of occurrence, objective and subjective components in the system of factors and conditions which give rise to it, common preconditions and local factors which operate in each specific combination of circumstances of place and time. Its most general preconditions are a persistent and long unresolved discrepancy between the needs, interests and social expectations of the entire mass of significant part of the population and the degree of their actual satisfaction leading to the build-up of dissatisfaction, to increased aggressiveness of individual groups and categories of people and to growing psychic fatigue and irritability.

Social tension can arise in a society (territorial community) in a dual manner. In the first place, if a majority of the people is initially hazily aware and then as events develop realizes that the satisfying of their social, economic, political, nationality, cultural or any other vitally important needs, interests and rights is being jeopardized or is even becoming impossible. Secondly, when a certain, initially comparatively small part of the people cannot satisfy their needs and realize their interests under the conditions existing in the society and for this reason, regardless of for what reasons and how specifically such a situation was caused, enters into battle against the actual and apparent obstacles or the perceived encroachment of their rights the spread of a mood of dissatisfaction, fear, pessimism and so forth in society. In either version social tension arises if the ripening crisis is not detected promptly and the conflicting opposition is in no way resolved; if so to speak a "hopeless situation" is observed or a blind alley in the logical development of social processes.

Thus, social tension is an aspect, an indicator of social crisis and conflict. It arises when crisis phenomena are not yet apparent in a clearly detectable form, and when there is no clearly felt opposition between "we and them," and disappears only when the crisis has been resolved or the conflict exhausted.

In summing all that was mentioned above, it can be said that social tension is a concept characterizing a particular state of social life which is marked by an exacerbation of internal contradictions of an objective and subjective nature (and let us add, aggravated in a number of instances by the action of external circumstances of a different nature, for example, natural disasters, accidents and so forth). The deep-seated causes of the given phenomenon are an aggregate of economic, political, social and other processes the course and direction of which lead to the rise in society of an unstable (political, economic or military) or conflict situation. These form as it were the "background" against which the specific events are played out. Against this background of the fundamental tension, often the action of local factors is superimposed (including the actions of the mass information media, extremist and nationalistic groups, incorrect actions by the local authorities and so forth) causing an aggravation of the situation at one or another moment of time in the various regions of the nation.

Dynamics of Social Tension

The statistical data, content analysis of publications in newspapers and journals and the results of polls make it possible to judge the dynamics of social tension in the course of perestroika and the character of the reflection of this situation in the public mind.

The first 2 or 3 years of perestroika were marked by increased hopes and expectations of rapid changes for the better, the emancipation of the public mind, and its liberation from the lethargic sleep of stagnation. The broadening of glasnost, the reduction of the "zones closed to criticism," the struggle against corruption, the winding down of the Afghan campaign and the improving of relations with the West were that basis on which the "superintendents of perestroika" received the credit of the people's trust. In the vocabulary of politicians and journalists concerned with domestic affairs, the term "social tension" during those years was virtually absent.

However, time passed and hopes were replaced by disillusionment. The Decree of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies "On the Basic Directions of USSR Domestic and Foreign Policy" (June 1989) stated that perestroika had evoked great hopes but had not brought the expected results, particularly in the economic and social spheres. Certain problems had even become more aggravated, intensifying social tension in society. Thus, the presence of a state of social tension in the nation gained official recognition on the highest level.

At present, we are confronted with all the above-listed indications of a peak of tension including the characteristics of a sociopsychological atmosphere, public attitudes, as well as objective data of socioeconomic and criminal statistics indicating a deepening of the crisis and a sharp rise in infractions and crimes. The voter polls in the course of preparations for the elections held in March of the current year for the republic and local soviets as conducted by the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and by other organizations in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Uzbekistan indicated that everywhere a predominant majority of those polled were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the economy, their own well-being and did not see positive changes in the supply of consumer goods and food, an improvement in the ecological situation, in providing law and order or in the work of the local party and soviet bodies. The share of residents from different regions who voiced negative judgments on all the above-named questions is close to the maximum possible and for this reason it is possible to assert that such attitudes are characteristic of virtually and entire adult population of the nation [1].

Feelings of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs on the consumer market, the decline in the standard of living, and uncertainty of tomorrow were apparent indirectly in the distributions of answers to the question "If circumstances allowed you, what would you prefer to move to a different place or continue living where you live now?" Without being able here to analyze in detail these data on a regional breakdown (the regions of the exacerbation of interethnic relations stand out in comparison with others), let us give the general data: 27 percent of the participants of the mail poll wanted to move to another region or city of the nation in the autumn while the figure was 18 percent in the spring;

in addition, and this is particularly alarming, respectively 12 and 26(!) percent preferred to emigrate.¹ Also alarming is the fact that emigre attitudes were rather widespread among the socially active, highly skilled portion of the youth and middle-aged persons. If one considers that a new, more democratic and liberal law on entry and departure from the USSR is soon to be passed, one can draw a rather definite forecast. With the existing, let us say frankly, disgusting conditions of life, our fatherland may lack many energetic and enterprising persons who are particularly essential to our society now.

In society there is a growing concern for the heightening social tension in the center and on the spot (Table 1). The tension is exacerbated by the instability, by the crisis of power and the party, and by the growing struggle of the various sociopolitical forces over the fundamental questions of the future development of the nation. The economic and social problems in the minds of people have assumed a clearly expressed political hue. The dissatisfaction of the public over the supply of food products and consumer goods, the deteriorating ecological situation and increased crime is being shifted to the attitude toward the existing structures of power and administration, to the ruling party. This is a comparatively new and alarming aspect, since according to the data of the polls conducted in the autumn of last year, social tension which also existed at that time was also linked in the public mind primarily to factors of an economic sort (an unsatisfactory state of the consumer market, increased prices, inflation and so forth), with the state of the environment, by the unsolved housing problem, by the increasing number of infractions of the law and by the exacerbation of interethnic relations and only then by the course of perestroika and the domestic political situation in the country.

Table 1: Distribution of Replies to the Question "Do you feel that there is social tension in the city where you live?..." %

Variations	Mail Poll of USSR Urban Population (n=1,790 persons)	Poll of Employed Population in Gorkiy Oblast (n=442 persons)	Poll of Employed Urban Population of Kalmyk ASSR (n=329 persons)
Absent	12	10	19
Declined in comparison with last year	4	0.6	3
Maintained on same level as last year	33	21	41
Intensified in comparison with last year	51	68	37

Attitude Toward the Government

A sharply critical view prevails in the attitude toward the USSR government and the measures proposed by it to get out of the crisis in society. As follows from the data of Table 2, the share of those who positively view the

government policy is extremely small and is substantially lower than the share of those who consider the practical activities and/or the program of the government to be a failure and even assumes that the current government could retire as incapable of resolving the problems confronting the nation.

Table 2: Distribution of Replies to the Question "What is your opinion on the current USSR government?", %

Variations	Mail Poll of USSR Urban Population as a Whole (n=1,790 persons)	In RSFSR*	Poll of Employed Population of Gorkiy Oblast (n=442 persons)	Poll of Employed Urban Population of Kalmyk ASSR (n=329 persons)
Government is basically carrying out correct policy and although significant difficulties are being encountered in the process of realizing it, positive results have already been achieved	6	6	7	21
Government has good ideas but is unable to realize them	32	30	41	41
Both government policy (the program of measures) and how it is being carried out cause many doubts in me	27	25	18	20
Current government incapable of solving problems confronting the nation, it should retire	30	33	26	12
Other opinion	4	3	0	1
Hard to answer	1	3	8	5

* The share of RSFSR respondents was 61 percent.

The polls conducted in Gorkiy Oblast in May, before the well-known speech of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the ways of moving to a market economy and the ensuing rise of prices—in June—approximately a month after the speech of the prime minister, provided an unique opportunity to "weigh" the given unpopular proposal by the government. Among the Gorkiy workers the share of "supporters" of the government (the respondents who chose the first variation of the answer to the question of Table 2) declined from 6 percent to 5 percent, while the "opponents" who felt that the government should step down (version 4 of the answer, Table 2) rose from 28 percent to 35 percent; among the intelligentsia in the humanities the change was respectively from 9 to 5 percent and from 27 to 34 percent; among engineers and technical personnel, from 3 to 4 percent and from 32 to 36 percent. Thus, there is an alarming tendency for a growing negative-critical attitude toward the current Ryzhkov Cabinet.

Attitude Toward Strikes

The process of the politization of mass awareness and conduct is clearly apparent in the change in the attitude of broad strata of the workers toward strikes as a form of struggle for their rights. A majority of those polled in the spring of 1990 felt that the holding of strikes in our nation was a justified measure. We would point out that according to the data of the mail poll conducted in the autumn of last year, public opinion toward strikes at that

time was split into two approximately equal parts of supporters and opponents for such a method of resolving conflicts. The source of the changed attitude of the workers toward the strike form of struggle undoubtedly is not only an awareness of the real strength of worker solidarity, a close linkage of personal and group interests, the impossibility of achieving changes for the better by other ways and the effectiveness of the strike means of applying pressure to the government, but also the decline in the confidence in the party, soviet and economic bodies at the center and on the spot.

The poll recorded a high degree of strike readiness (Table 3). In assessing this fact it is essential to bear in mind that the organizational structures of the new worker movement to a significant degree have already been formed, their active cooperation with the new democratic sociopolitical movements and parties is already being organized, on the one hand, and a certain confrontation with the CPSU apparatus is surviving, on the other. Among the most decided detachments of the working class, and primarily the miners, there has been a complete loss of trust in the government, and the authority of the central power, in particular the CPSU leadership, is low. There is a high probability that the potentially high strike readiness will be transformed into real strike activity. Here the strikes will have a political nature and significant scope. In the event of the start of a large-scale protest strike against the unpopular government measures, the failure of the leadership of the nation or a sector to carry out previously given obligations and so forth, this can assume the scale of a universal political strike.

Table 3: Replies to the Question "If you consider it fair to have strikes in our nation, are you ready to personally participate in a strike?", %

Variations	Mail Poll of USSR Urban Population as a Whole (n=1,790 persons)	In RSFSR*	Poll of Employed Population of Gorkiy Oblast (n=442 persons)	Poll of Employed Urban Population of Kalmyk ASSR (n=329 persons)
Yes, I am ready and I will strike along with my comrades out of a feeling of solidarity even if I have my own different opinion on this strike	11	12	10	13
Yes, but only in a strike conducted within the limits of the law, if there is no other solution to the conflict and I share the demands for which the strike has been declared	49	48	33	34
I do not know—I am not ready now to uniformly answer this question; my decision would be determined by specific circumstances	21	28	16	10
Most likely not—I would prefer not to participate in a strike, as I assume the possibility of unpleasant consequences in the future for me and my family	4	5	3	6
No, since I do not believe that we can achieve anything by strikes	11	4	24	35
Other opinion	4	3	3	1

* Share of RSFSR respondents was 61 percent

Social Pessimism

Social expectations, as is known, reflect the attitude toward the events and processes of the possible future. These are definite emotionally colored views which characterize the psychological atmosphere of society. The data of the 1989 and 1990 polls indicate that there is a definite trend for a rise in pessimistic expectations in relation to a rapid change in the situation in the nation to the better.

Indicative in this regard is the fact that according to the opinion of a majority, the results of the recently held elections to the republic and local soviets will not lead to real changes for the better, regardless of the substantial replacement and change in the composition of the deputy corps. Among the participants of the mail poll, 16 percent assumed that a deepening of the crisis cannot be halted and after the elections the changes will be for the worse; for 46 percent everything remains as before, without marked positive changes and only 9 percent is hopeful of tangible changes for the better, since, in their opinion, persons knowing the problems of their voters and capable of fighting for their interests have been elected to the soviets (29 percent refused a definite forecast of the development of events). Real power, in the opinion of those polled, as before does not belong to the soviets.² In this regard the results of the May poll did not differ from the data of polls conducted in December 1989-February 1990 during the period of the election campaign.

Attitude Toward the Socialist Choice

The general crisis in the world system of socialism, the transition of a number of communist parties in the Eastern European countries to the opposition and their

loss of not only the status of a ruling party but also their influence in the masses, and the unmasking of the crimes of Stalinism have intensified the feeling of disappointment of many as to the correctness of the path along which the communist party led the nation over the last 72 years. In a number of instances the forms of expression for these feelings have a clearly expressed antisocialist hue. Without any stipulations the slogan that "our society is emerging on the path of humane democratic socialism" is shared by only about 10 percent of those questioned (in a number of regions the share of such persons was significantly less). Those polled pointed out that they do not understand just how humane and democratic socialism differs from the developed socialism "built" in our country. Equally small is the number of those who unconditionally support the directly opposite viewpoint of a complete change in the course of social development in our nation, that is, persons who agree fully with the assertion that "the USSR is moving from socialism to capitalism." The incomplete process of a revision of views concerning the future of the nation and the transforming of political ideas and values can be seen from the very high share of supporters of a "third path" or the viewpoint according to which "we are on the path to a new social system which is unlike either socialism or capitalism in the traditional understanding," on the one hand, and the comparatively large share of persons who refuse a direct answer to this question or who have chosen the cautious position of "partially agreeing" with the polar statements (see Table 4). As one of the respondents explained his replies, "we are familiar with real socialism and would like to bid it farewell more quickly but we do not clearly understand just what modern capitalism is and we are rather afraid."

Table 4: Answers to the Question "Decisions taken in recent months are capable of radically altering the customary traits of the social system in our nation. You certainly have given some thought to where we are going. To what degree do you agree with the polemical statements given below?", %

Positions	Variations of Answers	Mail Poll of Urban Population			
		USSR as a Whole (n=1,790 persons)	RSFSR*	Poll of Employed Population of Gorkiy Oblast (n=442 persons)	Poll of Employed Urban Population of Kalmyk ASSR (n=329 persons)
Our society is emerging on a path of humane democratic socialism	Completely agree	6	6	4	14
	Partially agree	36	36	31	28
	Disagree	44	46	21	27
	Hard to answer	14	12	44	31
USSR is moving from socialism to capitalism	Completely agree	10	11	15	14
	Partially agree	34	34	28	33
	Disagree	43	44	20	28
	Hard to answer	13	11	37	25
We are on the path to a new social system which is unlike either socialism or capitalism in a traditional understanding	Completely agree	36	35	28	25
	Partially agree	36	36	26	27
	Disagree	17	18	9	10
	Hard to answer	11	11	37	38

* The share of RSFSR respondents is 61 percent.

In light of what has been stated above, there is no particular surprise from the fact that a majority of those questioned in May 1990 in no way linked their expectations for positive changes in the future to the decisions of the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress. The people much more linked their hopes to the activities of the USSR President, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the newly elected republic and local soviets as well as to the activities of the new parties and sociopolitical movements.

The Balance of Political Sympathies

The successes of Soviet policy in establishing civilized relations with the United States and the other capitalist states clearly have been one other incentive in shifting the center of attention of public opinion from the foreign policy problems to domestic problems, to the questions of the theory and strategy of the nation's future development. The decisions adopted in recent months have urged a radical change in the customary traits of the social system in our country. There has been a collapse in the system of stereotypes and values customary for many, of the notion introduced by official propaganda into mass conscience of the indisputable advantage of the socialist system in comparison with the capitalist and the inevitability of a communist future for all mankind. It was asserted that in the peaceful competition between the two systems, a victory for socialism was inevitable as socialism would provide higher productivity of social labor and better living conditions, it would destroy

exploitation of man by man based on private ownership, it would eliminate unemployment and crime and provide for all equal rights and opportunities in obtaining jobs, housing, free education, medical services, access to cultural values and so forth, and so forth. The practice of socialism has shown that many of the promises were unfulfilled. Moreover, over the last 2 or 3 years as formulas for pulling the nation out of its crisis, the leaders of perestroika and the mass information media proposed using means which yesterday were declared to be unsuitable and inapplicable under the conditions of socialism. It is a question of introducing a pluralism of ownership and returning to economic life the institution of private property, attracting foreign capital, developing market relations with all the ensuing consequences including inevitable unemployment, a rise in property and social inequality and so forth. The verbose arguments "pro" and "contra" for the proposed reforms in no way helped to introduce clarity into the notion of the future appearance of our country.

Mass conscience at present is an unique cocktail of old views and ideas learned from school years concerning the merits of the socialist choice and the more realistic assessments of the real results of peaceful rivalry between the two socioeconomic systems, the standard of living for the citizens in the socialist and capitalist states and the democratization of society.

The mosaic-like picture of mass political awareness is largely explained by the difficulties of ideological and

political self-determination of each member of our society in such a rapidly changing situation. In answering the question "Which of the sociopolitical associations, print organs, which of the persons known in terms of their political views do you consider extreme left, left, center, right and extreme right?" many of the poll participants pointed out that the traditional notions of right and left are not applicable to our party, for our "left," in defending the ideals of freedom and democracy, at the same time profound views to which many neoconservatives in the West would subscribe in standing there on the right flank and conversely, the zealous defenders of the course of continuing the construction of communism in a separate nation energetically and quickly are drifting to the flank usually occupied in the parliaments of the West by the opponents of change, by the conservatives and not by the communists or the representatives of other leftist forces. Nevertheless, the sympathies of the public to a greater degree belong to the left, or more accurately to the supporters of change, than to their opponents.

Only about 3 percent of those questioned identified their political position as being on the right flank. Many more persons consider themselves "left," some 15-30 percent depending upon the region where the poll was taken. A majority (50-70 percent) pointed out that at present they could not classify themselves in any one of the above-named areas.

The political position of the respondents and their ideological identification to a significant degree determine the assessment of the ability of various political forces to bring the nation out of crisis. At the same time, it is indisputable that in the structure of public opinion the distribution of political sympathies is determined by the interaction of various factors. In many cases preference among alternatives is given to new forces merely because the old structures and institutions have proven their insolvency. The vector of sympathies is often determined by the hope for change and in no way by a knowledge of theoretical and ideological platforms.

A comparison of the results of the polls conducted in the autumn of 1989 and the spring of 1990 has shown that in the lapsed months there were no substantial changes in the distribution of political sympathies. This fact shows that the influence of the political situation and of specific circumstances of place and time on the attitude toward traditional and new forces is in no way as substantial as might be expected.

Our data provide an opportunity to assess the share of "supporters and sympathizers" and the share of "opponents" of the new actors on the political scene, the "informal associations." In the former category, one can put around 40 percent of those polled, including approximately 10 percent of those firmly convinced that "at present only the informal groups (people's fronts and so forth) are capable of undertaking real measures and decisively carry out a line of improving affairs in the nation" (we kept the wording of the reply offered in the

questionnaire). In the second category are persons who assume that "the people's fronts and other informal groups merely aggravate the difficulties, for ultimately they are fighting for power" (as given in the questionnaire). Among these approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ (plus or minus 5 percent) of those questioned agree fully with the above-given wording, plus approximately the same number share this partially.

Certainly the above-given dividing into two parts is very approximate and rough. The proportions for the carriers of various political sympathies are extremely mobile and are determined primarily by the position of the "vacillators," the persons who "partially agree" with one or another of the above-given views. The share of persons undetermined in their position is very significant and is at least $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total number of persons polled.

Interethnic Conflicts and the Refugee Problem

The tragic events occurring in the regions of the greatest exacerbation of social tension—the regions of overt interethnic clashes—constantly remain at the center of public attention. In giving rise to all sorts of rumors and conjectures concerning the causes and scale of what had happened as well as the possibility of new outbursts of violence in other places, they to a significant degree contribute to the rise of concern among people in all regions of the nation.

Both in 1989 and in 1990, less than 10 percent of those polled (40-50 percent) were "partially" satisfied and all the remainder were unsatisfied) with the objectivity, completeness and timeliness of information concerning the situation in the "hot spots" of the nation as obtained from the newspapers and from the radio and TV broadcasts. The half-truth in the mass information media combined with hundreds of thousands of refugees who were the objective witnesses to the inability of the authorities to control the development of events and protect the security and life of the citizens in no way has helped to reduce social tension.

In the opinion of the participants of the 1990 mail poll, responsibility for the situations leading to the pogroms and the evacuation of thousands of persons from their home areas should be borne by the republic and local authorities (28 percent of those polled felt this way), by the nationalistic groupings (23 percent), the central authorities (17 percent), the law enforcement bodies (13 percent) and the criminal elements (11 percent). The remaining persons questioned found it hard to answer this question. Funds for providing the refugees with material compensation, housing, jobs and domestic services should be provided, in the opinion of a majority (73 percent), from the budget of the republic in which the refugees lived previously. An insignificant portion of those questioned (14 percent) felt that for this purpose money of the all-Union budget could also be employed. Opinions as to where in the next few years the refugees should be located and how this part of the problem must be solved were grouped basically around two opinions:

"It is essential to create conditions for the departure and residing of refugees in any region at their choice" (42 percent) and "It is essential to create opportunities for the return of the refugees" (39 percent).

The use of the armed forces in emergency situations within the country gave rise to stormy debates even after the lamentably known Tbilisi events of 1989. The poll disclosed the viewpoints which have formed up to the present. The viewpoint of the relative minority is that "the USSR Armed Forces cannot be outside political life. In the necessary instances they are obliged to intervene and apply force in order to defend the USSR Constitution, the security and rights of the Soviet citizens." From 33 to 29 percent of those polled feel this way in various regions of the country. The opposing viewpoint is "the army is to be outside political life. The USSR Armed Forces should not be involved in situations involving interethnic relations and other conflicts within the nation." This is directly supported by approximately the same number of respondents. Also gravitating to this position is the group which included a majority of those questioned who voiced their opinion on the given problem (45 percent): "Within the nation in accord with the law only the interior Troops of the MVD should be employed. Each combat arms should be concerned with its own matters." In the commentaries to the questionnaires it was emphasized that the Interior Troops should consist of volunteer professionals and young persons should not be called up to serve in these units in accord with the Law on Universal Military Service.

The "de Tocqueville Effect"

Perestroika can be boldly termed a revolution of rising expectations. Clearly, at present in mass conscience, one can observe what in political science is sometimes termed the "de Tocqueville effect." It derives its name from Alexis de Tocqueville, a French historian, sociologist and politician of the 19th Century and author of the book "The Ancient Regime and the Revolution." He wrote that the evil which was patiently endured as something inevitable seemed intolerable with the notion that one could escape from it. But then, the wise scholar pointed out, as many abuses as are eliminated, the remainder are all the more apparent and a feeling of intolerability of the evil becomes more burning: feudalism in the flowering of its forces never inspired such hate in the French as on the eve of its disappearance; the most insignificant manifestations of the tyranny of Louis XVI seemed more intolerable than the despotism of Louis XIV.

The process of actively introducing various strata and groups of the population to the role as principals of mass political activity has been occurring against the background of a crisis in the traditional political ideas and stereotypes which were formed in the most general outlines during the cult of personality of Stalin and were reinforced over the long years of stagnation. This circumstance to a decisive degree also determines the political culture of modern Soviet society, as

well as the attitude toward the direction and rate of occurring changes. A portion of the people has still not escaped from the fear and, in replying to the questionnaire questions in 1990, pointed out that they feared that glasnost would be followed by a new wave of witch-hunting. Another, in no way small, group of respondents—the disappointed and angered citizens—in their commentaries to the replies inclined to an extremely oversimplified interpretation of complex sociopolitical problems and proposed rectilinear and strong-armed methods of resolving them, reproducing the demagogic slogans of the ultraradical or, on the contrary, conservative or even reactionary forces.

The people are worried. Indicative in this regard are the answers to the question over the matter of rumors concerning the possibility of a military coup in our country. Approximately every third or fifth person questioned assumed the possibility of such development of events, linking the possibility of action by the military to the instability of the political and economic situation in the nation as well as to the struggle for power by various currents within the superior leadership.

Every 3 out of 100 persons questioned felt that "this would be the salvation for the nation for only the army is capable now of instilling order." A significantly larger number of persons felt that such rumors were either "completely ungrounded stupidity, idle conjecture which could never happen" (18-30 percent) or that "this was antiarmy propaganda carried out by certain forces interested in destabilizing the situation in the nation" (16-25 percent).

We do not have the opportunity to comment in detail on the disclosed distribution of opinions. We would also point out that the introduction of the new institution for our political system of the USSR President was also judged differently by public opinion and is linked to the course of perestroika. After 100 days of the presidency of M.S. Gorbachev, almost 1/2 of those questioned to one degree or another agreed with the opinion that "perestroika is degenerating into a dictatorship of personal power" (the share of "disagreeing" was 17-26 percent, while 11-32 percent found it difficult to answer).

A further democratization of society, in the opinion of the majority of the respondents, is impossible without the direct involvement of all the citizens in running the country by participation in the nationwide referendums but not in the "nationwide discussions" in the press. More than 70 percent of those participating in the polls in 1990 stated unambiguously that they personally were in favor of the referendum.

In concretizing their attitude toward referendums on the most important questions of the life of the nation or republic, 45 percent of the participants in the mail poll pointed out that "this is a democratic method for involving all citizens in running the nation (republic) and 31 percent felt that "this is a method to learn how people actually think,

a method of studying public opinion." And only 14 percent skeptically assumed that "this would be a new propaganda action, an attempt by the authorities to shift responsibility for decision-taking from their shoulders to society." Certain respondents noted the danger that the results of referendums organized by the authorities could be falsified or used against the democratic forces by an ambiguous posing of the question.

It is said that omens occur even for those who do not believe in them. And those who do not believe in now fashionable horoscopes know that the current year of 1990 according to the Eastern calendar is called the Year of the White Horse. Astrologers assert that at this point in time of the 12- and 60-year cycle related to the position of the sun, the stars, Jupiter and Saturn, important events usually occur on the earth. This is an unique turning point, a moment of change, when responsible decisions are to be taken summing up the results of the previous years and marking a new trajectory in development. The Year of the Horse is compared with the crest of a wave or with a mountain peak, a pass, the reaching and crossing of which will bring the tired travelers to the start of a slow descent in a sun-bathed valley promising the long-awaited rest and peace.

All that has been said above shows that our nation in the Year of the White Horse is at a peak of social tension. An analysis of the reasons for the rise of the crisis phenomena in the USSR and in the other countries of the former socialist commonwealth and the ways of overcoming them goes beyond the limits of the given article. We would merely point out that perestroika, as a complex of reforms in the various spheres of social life and the breaking of ossified structures, in and of itself is a response of society aimed at overcoming the crisis phenomena. A reduction in social tension in the most immediate manner is tied to the direction, nature, depth, scale and rate of transformations carried out in the process of perestroika. Much in the further development of the social attitudes and the sociopolitical situation in

the nation will depend upon whose side is the political initiative, and how acceptable for the nation's population will be the measures of the national and republic governments to emerge from the crisis, and how consistently a course supported by the masses will be carried out.

Footnotes

1. Let us recall that among the participants of the mail poll, there was a higher share of young highly-educated persons than in the Gorkiy and Kalmyk samplings. For this reason, the corresponding indicators for the Gorkiy and Kalmyk polls are lower. Among the respondents in Kalmykia in 1989, 24 percent wanted to move to another city or region and 13 percent in 1990; wanting to move abroad were 12 and 10 percent; in Gorkiy Oblast, respectively, 26 and 9, 7 and 6 percent.

2. The participants of the mail poll from the RSFSR to the question: "To whom, in your opinion, does power presently belong in your city (settlement)? (It is possible to give not more than three replies simultaneously.)" replied in the following manner: 9 percent to the soviets, 38 percent to the party bodies, 20 percent to the leaders of enterprises, organizations and departments, 4 percent to the new sociopolitical movements, 23 percent to the traders and representatives of the shadow economy, while the remaining participants (6 percent) found it difficult to answer this question.

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[Text] The verbatim records from all levels of congresses of the people's deputies provide great informational material for carrying out historical sociological and sociopsychological research. Undoubtedly this is a matter for the future. However, it seems to me that an analysis in the same vein of similar historical precedents can significantly facilitate the work.

Up to now this source has been little used, basically for reconstructing the canvas of events and the programs of the fighting political forces. The use of this in sociological, sociopsychological and sociopolitical research requires the elaboration of a special method. The work has attempted to present such a method drawing on the materials of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets (6-10 July 1918). This congress was noteworthy for many reasons. It was held at the peak of the political battles between two ruling parties: the Bolsheviks and the Leftist SRs. It particularly attracts our attention as virtually the last record of overt interparty struggle.

Since we are primarily concerned with the link between the leader and the people which comprise the referent group for him, it is possible to employ the psychological concept of G. Kelly [1] who has established three successively "turned-on" functions of interaction. The first is the function of **identification** and this makes it possible for the principal to construct a sensitive image of the group and himself in it through the collective conscience of its members. With the aid of the second, the **normative** or orientation function, there is instruction in group standards making it possible to understand the situation and these standards are reproduced. Finally, the third **reflexive** of comparing and forming assessments and self-judgments and through which the standards are reassessed and subjected to revision. It is not difficult to see that the designated functions correspond to the traditional strata of the psyche traditionally recognized in psychology: the subconscious, the conscious and the self-conscious (in the Hegelian tradition, sensitivity, intellect and reason).

The leader of a group who actively shapes its position clearly should possess the most refined responses in forecasting the conduct of the group and the leaders who are in relationships of collaboration or opposition to him. In this instance, we can speak of the dominance of the third function, that is, of developed self-awareness. The function of the perceptible identification is realized by the means of the subconscious and the normative-regulative making it possible to properly orient oneself in

the world by the conscience (intellect). The leader should be able to actively influence the subconscious, conscious and even the self-conscious of the rank-and-file members of the group, shaping them in the required direction. In turn, the group acts upon the leader, in participating in the evolution of his position through group interests.

We are interested in the means of influence employed by one or another leader in a historically specific sociopolitical situation. This can also provide an indirect description of his referent group.

The deep strata of the psyche, the subconscious, is most easily swayed. Examples of controlled xenophobia are well-known to the older generation. And the label of "enemy of the people," that is, a foreigner who is apriori hostile to the socialist referent culture in the 1930s and 1940s was completely sufficient for a civil death even for a respected member of society who was unmasked at the crucial moment by the powers of the representatives of the referent group in the eyes of its rank-and-file members. An emotional line of reasoning by the undisputed leaders was completely enough, no proof was needed, only a fine show was required which appealed to the senses and merely served as an explanation for what had happened.

It is somewhat more complex to influence the conscious: this is natural in considering its significantly more complex structure. In order to accuse a person of not corresponding to a group on the level of the second function, it is at least essential to demonstrate the discrepancy of his code of standards to the corresponding code of the group. Here qualifications are clearly insufficient and it is essential to show the difference of the standards accepted as a guide to action and do this persuasively. Here the violated standards should be important for all members of the group. The condemned person inevitably must be an enemy spy, the representative of an alien normative orientation, a detail which previously strongly affected me in the corresponding convictions but completely apparent from this viewpoint.

Finally, the self-conscience which presupposes a developed reflex system. Of course, this is the most difficult stratum to influence. Here qualifications and even the demonstrating of the violated standard are completely unpersuasive. It is essential to give extended proof of one's accusations with the logical deriving of the possible consequences of the different standards accepted as the basis of conduct and certainly on the level of this function the distinguishing norm is far from always an indisputable evil. Possibly a change in the norm is only an adequate response to an altered situation. Obviously precisely on the level of the self-conscience and a developed reflection operating with constructions capable of withstanding the fire of criticism and designed for close scrutiny from all sides is a factional struggle carried out under the conditions of real democracy and this, of course, does not exclude the use of the means of the other functions.

The level of difference in the forms of conducting debate and the effect on public opinion in the various referent groups can be an indicator of the degree of development in the sophistication of political discussion.

In the event that the behind-the-scenes and the public debates differ insignificantly and are characterized by a high level of activated functions, one can speak of a developed political sophistication on the scale of the entire nation and a high degree of the democratization of its social life. With their insignificant difference it is possible to conclude that there is political sophistication among the upper groups with little involvement of the uninformed and semisuppressed masses and fraught in the future with the most diverse excesses. Finally, with a weak and comparable level of development of both the former and the latter it is reasonable to conclude that there is a semistified level of political debate, including on the uppermost level, and this is very dangerous.

From this viewpoint, it is interesting to make a comparison of the "circles" within which political debates have been carried out in the various periods of Soviet power. During the years of Stalinism, a discussion of political problems without the voicing of particular approval at best was conducted in the family. During the period of stagnation, there flourished anecdotes and the belittling of authorities within a circle of acquaintances. In our times, all society has been overwhelmed by a flood of the most active public discussion of urgent problems.

Thus, clearly the appropriate party and soviet documents combined with materials of the widely-read press, with the presence of a method of comparative analysis for the degree of using the elements of the first, second and third functions in the debate, can play the role of a barometer for the corresponding intensity of political life, the degree of its development and democraticness.

First of all, the question arises of the search for and consideration of the indicators which could be employed for objectivizing the characteristics of development for one or another function in the interaction of the leader and the other members of the referent group.

Obviously, the researcher should pay particular attention to the moments of the strong manifestation of feelings by the listeners. As a rule, this means that the speaker has been able to touch a sensitive chord and consequently the place in the report which has caused strong emotions is suspicious in the sense of its effect on the deep strata of the psyche, the subconscious. Significant here are both the places which have evoked applause as well as negative emotions, for example, shouts of "Disgrace!" and so forth. Clearly, in various periods the source of applause can differ in terms of the level of the affected levels of the psyche. Thus, while in the first years of Soviet power the listeners responded directly in an emotional manner, indicating with applause what they liked and with shouts of "Disgrace!" respectively for what they did not like, and in the so-called "years of stagnation" applause rang out at the

proper places of a report corresponding to the standard cannons of approbation while unsanctioned shouts of "Disgrace!" were excluded in principle. They approved not what they liked but what they were ordered to like.

Thus, in the first years of Soviet power applause and exclamations, both approving and disapproving, are an indicator suspected of activating the emotional sphere in the psyche of the listeners, during the years of stagnation the same external indicators provide us an opportunity to reconstruct the system of norms which was considered fundamental and necessary.

Indicative from this viewpoint, in our view, is the circumstance that the leaders who densely saturated their speech with political slogans concerning the latest issues and with direct qualifications of their political enemies with sufficient ease evoked applause. This applies above all to such political figures as Zinovyev and Trotskiy. The appearance, for example, of Trotskiy before the rostrum of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Worker, Peasant, Soldier and Cossack Deputies and used by us as the basic source base inevitably evoked strong emotions from those present. The applause merged with the slogans voiced by him and of which he was a great admirer: "Long live revolutionary discipline! Long live the honest worker-peasant army!" In his speeches he alternated with emotional-conceptual fine images of opponents in the form of the "hired agitators of our enemies" and less comprehensible orders to execute them "on the spot," because "woe to him who disobeys the will of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets." Here everything is done with reference to the authority of the Congress, but in such a manner that the speaker himself is almost the sole proponent of the designated will in life.

Thus, in addition to the **applause and manifestations of negative emotions** by the rank-and-file members of a group, the saturating of the leader's speech with slogans, from the psychological standpoint we obtain two other indicators which characterize the form of struggle. First of all, this is the image of the leader's "ego" presented by him in his speech. In what role does this act? Of course, in a crucial manner if the leader is acting as the savior of the fatherland and the father of the people. Secondly, also very important is the **image of the same leader as depicted by his colleagues**. When Zinovyev said that for Trotskiy "I have unlimited trust which he has merited and does merit" and in this manner responds to the accusations of Kamkov that "the situation which Comrade Trotskiy has described does not correspond to the objective state of affairs there" (on the front.—L.B.) [2, p 24], he is demonstrating the rejection of the words of one and the acceptance of the words of another, in relying on emotional arguments. What Trotskiy says is the truth because I trust him and I do not need any other arguments—this is what Zinovyev is actually saying. And it is no surprise that the response to such an emotional argument is an equally emotional manifestation of feelings in the form of the stormy applause of the standing(!) deputies [ibid., p 26]. He is one of us and this

is what they are saying by this. He is not only one of us but is also a charismatic leader. From this viewpoint there is no surprise at all in the response of the audience to the statement by the Ukrainian deputy concerning the impoverished state of Ukrainian brothers under the domination of German occupiers. From the floor was heard, no more no less, "Comrade Trotskiy! Support the Ukrainians." Aid was requested not from the Congress, not from the army, but personally from Comrade Trotskiy. For the shouter, Trotskiy was the personification of those forces of young Soviet power which were capable of such aid. In our view, such a shout precisely characterizes the "ego" or image of Trotskiy created by the joint efforts of himself and his colleagues in the faction.

Also extremely informative is the **structure** of the speech. The ratio of the amounts of indisputable slogan statements which operate on the emotions of the audience, the reference to various authorities including the authority of the Congress and strict, logical proof of their theses provides an opportunity to judge the forms of effect on the psyche as activated by the given leader.

But, of course, it is far from just the forms of action on the psyche of the listeners that are of interest to a modern researcher, although they are very important as indicators of mass political conscience. What theses could be proven persuasively to the public by appealing to the emotional sphere, which by referring to authority and which required extensive proof—this is information, and a lot of it, which characterizes the development level of the psyche of the rank-and-file deputies and the subjects which are moving for them. But certainly something else is also important here. The leaders not only endeavored to "shape" mass political conscience. There was a most stubborn struggle underway at the Congress. The leaders showed themselves both in the forms and methods of this struggle.

The most important characteristics here are the **forms of response** to the accusations of opponents. It is not difficult to figure out that the responses with the activating of the different levels of the psyche—subconscious, conscious and self-conscious—will have a completely different sound, with a differing record in the text and, consequently, it is possible to detect these in the corresponding speeches. Thus, the response to the subconscious level was clearly demonstrated by Zinovyev in the quoted speech. Everything is wrong because a "good" man is accused by a "bad" or "other." In the same speech, the words of the Ukrainian representatives were described thus: "They spoke a communist speech, the same truly proletarian speech which we heard from the mouth of the leader, the old revolutionary, on behalf of the communists" [ibid.]. And here again we see an emotional characteristic with the corresponding qualifications of "communist," "true proletarian," "old revolutionary" and so forth reinforced by a reference to the leader's authority. The number of "proletarian" epithets per unit of area amazes the imagination.

Thus, the saturating of the text with direct qualifications is an indicator making it possible to measure the degree to which the speaker uses the first function. Ascertaining the theses of the studied leaders and their opponents and which were employed as the grounds for such qualifications represents the richest information concerning the unconditionally positive and negative stereotypes which existed among the congress participants. (Let us emphasize the difference between the stereotype and the standard. A stereotype is formed on the subconscious level and the standard on the conscious.) As for the second function, the indirect measurement of its activation can be the standard turns of phrase, references to authorities and which figure at least in certain speakers as the type "loyal Leninist" and so forth. Understandably, the immediate detection of the traces of the second function is significantly more labor intensive in comparison with the first and requires an analysis of the text using content analysis. At present, there even is the name "Soviet Speak" which is a specific slang in which even the slightest official papers "must be" written. As for the Fifth Congress which was analyzed by us, we were able to discover the following: "we are communists" and "we are the party of revolutionaries..." At first, someone finds a fortuitous phrase, it is picked up by the elite, everyone imitates it and the phrase grows wooden and is turned into a standard.

As we recall, during the so-called years of stagnation, the leaders did not endeavor to operate at all on the emotional aspect of the psyche of the listeners and the speeches were made on a level of rote phrases given as some bravura slogan. In contrast to the first period of party and Soviet history, when they sometimes responded simultaneously to the same phrase with both applause and shouts of "Disgrace!" later in the verbatim records one can uniformly predict the always unanimous response which actually occurred in the public in the auditorium. Thus, in recording references to unconditional standards which existed in the corresponding speeches and the response of those in the auditorium to these references—simply applause, stormy applause developing into an ovation—one can detect indisputable standards and rank them in the corresponding hierarchy.

Finally, the third function. In contrast to the first two, it can fully permit the existence of not "black" and not "white," but "spotted." Then the position of a person is not identified with the person himself. It is possible to disagree with so-and-so on some question, considering that the comrade is confused but generally speaking, he is a very convinced, principled and loyal to the revolution. He can be persuaded without employing strong-armed methods. The examples of such an approach to the question were demonstrated by V.I. Lenin. He participated in the political struggle, moreover he headed it, he did not agree with many on specific questions, however he did not identify a person with his viewpoint of the moment. In disagreeing with the leader of the leftist SRs, M. Spiridonova, he called her one of the sincerest persons dedicated to the cause of revolution and endeavored to eliminate the contradictions which existed

between them. What a difference with the response of Trotsky who from the very outset to the end defamed the leftist SRs in repetitive expressions! Thus, the indicators of the presence of the third function, as a factor of political struggle, can clearly be the complex, diverse dialectical characteristics of an event, phenomenon and a leader belonging to his own or opposing grouping.

Let us see how the situation stood for the third function at the Fifth Congress of Soviets. As has already been said, in the political leaders this should be strongly developed by definition. It is one thing, when a speaker examines the opponents theses from an unexpected aspect in order to defeat it more adroitly and regardless of their truthfulness and another when he uses the means of the third function for their constructive examination. Clearly, in the first instance he can successfully employ the arguments engendered by the first and second functions which often are more effective in the political game. In the second instance, his aim will not be the shaping of public opinion but rather the search for the truth in contact with colleagues, including those who adhere to the opposite opinion. Thus, the degree of utilizing the means of the third function is a fine indicator showing the presence or absence of the true evolution of an opinion in the process of discussion, that is, a real democratic discussion of the problem without the attaching of labels and with an attempt to examine the arguments of one's opponents in their essence, with a desire to understand their position, having drawn from it, if need be, the necessary conclusions. The question is posed of the methods of measuring this component of political struggle.

Of course, its only indicator is the developed logical line of argument of the theses proposed by the speaker. The attitude of the speaker to the opponent's arguments is also extremely indicative. Clearly it is possible to reply to the opponent on different levels.

There are effective procedures which make it possible to "bury" his speech without answering to the point. One could give several such examples. The first of these is that from the opponent's speech one picks up on a certain particular and demonstrates its discrepancy to reality. In this manner, one undermines the trust in the speaker on an emotional level. Such a demonstration can be made by the subconscious methods and by referring to the fact that this could not be because it could never be. Also effective are the means of the conscience, with reference to an accepted unconditional standard. Trotsky on the Leftist SRs: "But if they now tell us that this party is a leading detachment of the proletariat and the peasantry and the entire International, then we will move to the position of Kerenskiy, we, the communists; but I would still permit myself to say that the progressive proletariat is grouped around Petrograd and Moscow [ibid., p 32]. The author demonstrates that the words of Spiridonova contradict a standard recognized by all, that the communists cannot be viewed from the same position as Kerenskiy, by definition. Here he has logically developed the opponent's thesis in such a manner that he

has been able to draw from it the conclusion that the communists now hold the same positions which Kerenskiy previously held; then he showed the inadmissibility of the actual conclusion initially from the viewpoint of an unconditionally accepted standard and then on an emotional level: of course, the Bolsheviks could not consider themselves on the same level as Kerenskiy. As we see, in the given concrete instance, there are present the means of all three functions: with the logical development of the thesis the possibilities of the third function were undoubtedly employed; the second in the reference to the standard; the first in demonstrating the emotional inadmissibility of what was said.

Just what then does such an analysis provide aside from stating for the 1,000th time that here is one function, there another and that all three were used, although in different roles?

In our view, precisely the given example is a fine illustration of the reply to the given question. Yes, all three functions have been used, but how? The third function serves not to draw the constructive aspect from what was said by the opponent, no it is used for developing his theses toward an obvious absurd which can easily be disclosed, and performs a servicing role. Certainly each of the speakers himself chooses to which ideas of his opponents he will reply and which he will merely belittle. The use of the third function in the latter instance of course, is merely a characteristic in the development of the critical function for the leader himself, making it possible for him to turn his rival's speech inside out, without at all being in the given context an indicator of his desire to resolve the problem, taking into account a viewpoint which differs from his own. Here it is clear that since the third function is only an auxiliary means making it possible to prove the position, having defended it from the feeble efforts of the opposing party, as significantly more accessible for the viewers, the opportunities of the other, base functions should be employed without fail.

However, in the materials of the same Fifth Congress, examples are also to be found of how Lenin attempted to analyze the speech by Spiridonova and show the absence of real insurmountable contradictions in the positions of the Bolsheviks and the Leftist SRs. Here the means of the third function are employed significantly more constructively than in the analyzed example. It can be concluded that one of the indicators of constructiveness can be an analysis of the opponent's ideas and not subordinate from its inception to the goal of demonstrating it in a false or unfailingly negative light.

Thus, in our opinion, first of all it is essential to record the subjects of the statements with a counting of the amount of text devoted to each of them and the corresponding speakers. Then, for each of the subjects, indications of a response from the floor should be recorded such as applause, laughter, the shouting of "Disgrace!" and so forth. When possible, that is, when there are indications in the text, the force of the reaction should

also be noted, for example, applause, stormy applause, ovation. In this manner, the sore points of the studied congress will be disclosed and particularly important are those when applause and shouts of "Disgrace!" are heard simultaneously. These are the disputed discussion questions of the Congress (for the Fifth Congress the following subjects have been established, in diminishing order: the food policy, the Brest Peace, the introduction of the death penalty, and the exclusion of representatives of the opposition parties, the Mensheviks and Rightist SRs, elected to the local soviets).

Undoubtedly, an interesting task is constructing a sociopsychological portrait of the speakers. The text of one speech serves as a unit of analysis in the proposed method. For constructing the portrait at our disposal are exactly as many units of research as there were speeches by the orator. In each of them we propose establishing the following parameters: the volumes of the texts dedicated to analyzing the speech of the previous orators and for one's own ideas; the ideas themselves; the functional means employed in the first and second instances, including taking to the absurd, irony, sarcasm, appealing to the emotional sphere of the listeners, reference to authorities and to standards, substituting a false thesis of the opponent; an analysis of the opponent's thesis initially with a minus sign and constructively with a previously undetermined or varying sign...; the number of direct qualifications, positive and negative, the relating of these to rivals or allies; the saturating of the text with indisputable slogans and other unconditional statements; the use by the author of a logical apparatus with the fixing of the goals of its employment for an analysis and for constructing on this basis constructive proposals, including from the rivals, or for showing proof of one's arguments with the recording of these arguments; for belittling the opponents' theses with an unconditional minus sign.

After carrying out this program, we will obtain a feature space with two types of descriptions. In the first place, there will be a description of each thesis heard at the congress. It will be clear what was the comparative acuteness of the polemics it caused with an indication of the involved persons and their contribution to the given polemics with an elucidation of the question of the psychological means of carrying out these polemics, including the irrelevance of the given question, its, if one can put it this way, academicness or, on the contrary, the implacability of the opponent positions with the inclusion of personal ambition. Secondly, for each active speaker a whole series of psychological portraits will be obtained for his various speeches. The reducing of these to a single whole will make it possible to gain a notion of the questions where the given orator was involved in discussion and his position. This involves the objective part of our characteristic. In addition to this, we will also obtain a subjective characteristic. First of all, these are the functional means comprising his arsenal, the ease of employing them, and the favorite means of political struggle: pressure on the emotional aspect of the psyche of the listeners with the appropriate references to authority,

normative-dogmatic accents or logical proofs. Clearly, in this manner as an indirect result we can assess the strength of each orator's position on the question raised by him, in using the following simple considerations. In the event of a firm mastery of the situation, a speaker would scarcely employ strong-armed means for affecting the psyche of the listeners. But the situation is completely changed if along with indisputable areas there are also dubious places in his position which have been disclosed by opponents. Then he will endeavor to distract attention from the contestable aspects which are actually difficult for him, in shifting the entire burden of his line of argument to winning, unconditional aspects for a maximally large number of those present. The level of the audience is also important. At times, it is possible to recognize the truth of the opponent if only because this would be perceived as an admission of defeat. One might ask how can these indisputably different cases be distinguished? In our opinion, this can be done rather simply on the basis of the proposed functional apparatus. In the first and third instances the means of the first and, possibly, the second functions will be employed; the third function can be called upon only as an auxiliary one for "twisting" the line of argument of the rival. In the second case, on the contrary, there will be an analysis of the opponent's position, that is, basically the third function should be employed as a logical analysis of the opponents position without the unconditional negation of it. The means of the first and second function, in the event they are present, will carry out only an ancillary role.

Thus, if initially we record all the questions heard at the congress, by describing the delivery of these questions by each orator, we will form a mass-like source, in the given instance, in the form of a matrix where a line represents a description of one speech of a leader in the categories defined by us. Each leader in a way answers the questions of a standard questionnaire, both objective, that is, with the listing of the outline of events, as well as the subjective which involve his opinions and the method of presenting the material and the effect on the listeners. Understandably, for each orator we will have both a summary representing his behavior as a whole at the congress, as well as a data file—a sheaf of such questionnaires filled out for each of his speeches—making it possible to trace the evolution of his position and forms of political behavior in the course of the struggle at the congress.

Understandably, a portion of the features, that is, individual characteristics of the studied speech, will have a quantitative nature including: the volume of the text devoted to a certain subject, the number of slogans and qualifications...but the basic portion by definition remains qualitative, including the characteristics of the given slogans and qualifications. The task arises of a comparative analysis of the mass-like source of such a complex nature and formed of various features. In the given situation, I propose employing frequency analysis

of the qualitative features [1], a method which has been specially developed by the author for a comparative analysis of diverse data and assuming their measurement on a general basis employing an understanding of the relationship, the comparison and so forth as this has intuitively come into being in historical science.

Let us begin by the nominal features. For instance, we have established the feature characterizing the slogans in the speaker's speech. The values of this can be the various specific slogans, for example, devoted to a certain individual subject. It is hard to say what slogan would be better or worse. Sometimes (not always) it can be said that one has evoked a greater response from the public but on the other hand it can always be said what speaker more frequently used a certain slogan at a given congress or what slogan on the basis of the frequency of its mentioning is the most popular at the studied moment among the congress deputies. Thus, as we propose, one can speak about the importance of the significance of the nominal feature (in the given case, a slogan) in the sense of the possibility of describing it with the aid of the studied aggregate. Certainly aggregates can vary: all the speeches given at the congress; all the speeches given by representatives of one party faction; all the speeches of one speaker.

Now, let us move on to the ranking features. For example, we are concerned for such a feature, for example, as the educational level of the deputies. Clearly, a 7th-grade education for a deputy at the Fifth Congress of Soviets and, for example, at the 28th CPSU Congress mean qualitatively different things. Important is not merely the significance of the ranking feature, but again its significance in the given aggregate of people. What do seven grades mean in 1918 and in our times? Clearly this depends upon the relative number of persons who have the same or less education. The more there are in the total number, the more significant this education; the less there are, on the contrary, the less significant. Thus, the value of the importance of the ranking feature is measured by the cumulative probability and in case of a sample, by the cumulative frequency of encountering such a value of the ranking feature in our aggregate.

Finally, there are the quantitative features. Clearly in our "questionnaire" there are rather many of them, for example, the volumes of text devoted to one or another question. The given quantity, however, is only an expression of a certain content and in and of itself does not represent value. In actuality it is clear that the amount of a speech devoted to a certain slogan, as a rule, will be significantly less than the amount devoted to a certain proof of a thesis which is calmly and thoroughly exposed to the fire of criticism, doubt and reflection. On the basis of this, is it possible to assert the lesser significance of the former for the author and the listeners than the latter? Possibly, the speaker is intentionally focusing attention on the latter, in avoiding a question and then later achieves his goal using an abandoned slogan? Furthermore, from the number of words, how is it possible to gain any judgment, for example, of the comparative

effectiveness of the various slogans and arguments? Clearly in the case of quantitative features which conceal a certain content behind their meanings, the meaning itself may not mean anything, but rather it is important here to measure not the meaning but rather the importance of it in our aggregate. And here, as in the previous cases of the nominal and ranking features, the importance is measured by the frequency of the same or lesser amount among the other quantities of the same category. Thus, the terseness of a slogan can be judged from how frequently the terser or the same such slogans are encountered in the speeches of the deputies, the deputies of a given faction and an individual deputy. It is also possible to judge accurately of the distribution of them in the volume of judgment, in comparing all the judgments, having counted the number of judgments which are shorter or the same. Thus, the significance of the meaning of the quantitative features, as in the case of a ranking feature, is calculated through a total or cumulative. And in the case where the quantitative feature is continuous, then by using a Lebesgue integral.

As a result of such a measurement of different features in a unified value scale, the employment of mathematical statistics becomes correct [3, 4]. As is known, the results of employing statistical methods vary and are rather difficult to interpret. Often one chooses the most plausibly interpreted result out of a multiplicity of statistically the same likelihoods thereby "favoring" the already existing viewpoint. For eliminating the given shortcoming, I propose employing a procedure of constructing and testing hypotheses [4].

I have endeavored briefly to provide a notion of the possibility of a historical sociological approach to an analysis of party and Soviet documents. This approach assumes the formalizing of the texts of the speeches of speakers who were heard at one or another forum. The texts formalized as standard questionnaires are analyzed by using mathematical methods. The task is set of studying the averaged structural cause-and-effect ties between the established features. We propose that the demonstrated approach is applicable not only for studying the verbatim records of the congresses. With its aid it is possible to examine any texts used in political activity. Of course, for each type of text, the method should be modified in the required manner. For example, in studying decrees and official acts, in the forefront should be such indicators as the noncontradictoriness of the given decree to the already existing system of legislative enactments, the time which has lapsed since the adoption of the last decree on the given question, the phraseological or semantic modernization, the party affiliation of the decree authors and so forth, and so forth. As we see, the list of questions which can easily be changed with a change in the object and source of research makes it possible to modify the method without particular difficulty. It is important that the apparatus for studying the secondary source formed by us be unified as this makes it possible to analyze the structure of our data of a nonnumerical nature outside the dependence upon the existing specific features. Moreover, with

its aid we are able to have a complete comparison of documents which are completely incomparable under ordinary conditions both in terms of the questions touched on in them as well as in terms of the questions discussed in establishing the mechanisms and forms of relationship with the group of interests and in using the apparatus of the above-mentioned three functions. The merits and limitations of the proposed approach will be shown by time and by the ongoing work on the hundreds and thousands of preserved documents.

Let us briefly present the tentative results of an analysis of the verbatim record. First by counting the applause we establish the sore points, the subjects which evoke emotions.

It might be expected that the communist Sverdlov, the Englishman Feinberg, Sosnovskiy, Trotskiy and Lashevich who were the first to speak to a certain degree set the tone. For what reason were they applauded? Sverdlov received applause once when he named the number of communist mandates (the faction in terms of size was double that of the Leftist SRs), Feinberg was applauded six times, including three times stormily, when he spoke about Russia as sacred for the proletariat and described the SRs as endeavoring to take away the power won by the workers. The remainder involved praise for the communists (twice) and the justification of the struggle as an attribute of the revolution. It was possible to give blessings on behalf of the international proletariat as all means were good in the struggle for the communist ideal.

Sosnovskiy won stormy applause, having identified the Leftist SRs with the Rightist SRs and the Mensheviks. Trotskiy gained stormy applause from the delegates for qualifying the congress as the superior body of revolutionary power and where he was a simple soldier.

As we can see, from the response of the audience, two subjects are clearly apparent. The first we can conditionally call praise for the communists, the only true revolutionaries. The second was well put by Lashevich in the words "we challenge you (the Leftist SRs.—L.B.) to battle" which incidentally also garnered applause. Both are components of a single whole: we "the good" challenge you "the bad" to battle through the congress, where we are the majority and are its soldiers. Thus, one can speak of the mind set of the Bolshevik faction for confrontation.

Let us see what the response was from the faction of the Leftist SRs to the speeches of the main speakers: Kamkov, Spiridonova and Karelin. Kamkov was applauded six times and all were related to insinuations against German capitalism: four times for indirectly accusing the Bolsheviks of serving Mirbach, and twice for support of the Ukrainians. Spiridonova also received applause six times. She declared the accepting of the challenge to combat and without chances for victory at the congress due to the communist majority at it, but not in the nation. Kamkov received applause for describing the Bolsheviks as lackeys of German imperialism and as counterrevolutionaries. As we can see, the basic leit motiv among the Leftist SRs was a presentiment of the fierce struggle of the Bolsheviks against them

and that they would be expelled from the soviets as had been done with the Rightist SRs and Mensheviks. The question arises of just how embittered they were with the Bolsheviks. Let us examine the corresponding qualifications. All disapproval, often quite fierce, was related to certain acts of the Bolsheviks. For Kamkov the most dangerous was the Brest Peace which he described as toadying to the Germans. For Spiridonova it was the peasant question and namely the question of the food dictatorship [5].

For the Bolsheviks the situation was fundamentally the opposite. Undoubtedly, they were the attacking side. The Leftist SRs were on the defensive and the means for struggle was the Peasant Congress and the search for support outside the congress, in the nation, where they were profoundly convinced that they were in the majority.

In order to understand the difference in the views of the Bolsheviks and the Leftist SRs, let us again turn to psychological theory. It is a generally accepted fact of psychology that there are two incomparable levels of a person's rejection: on the level of actions and as such. In the first instance, it is criticism on the level of the conscience: a person is not hopeless, he can be "rehabilitated" and there is no negative view of him. In the second instance there is no criticism, but there is the rejection on the level of the subconscious, and any action by him is interpreted in a biased manner, for the entire being of the condemning person, due to the presence of a negative mind set, is directed at this.

The Leftist SRs repeatedly emphasized their closeness to the Bolsheviks, referring to what they had experienced together and the common history of their struggle, and in truth such passages were not awarded with applause. But equally clear is their desire to collaborate with the Bolsheviks if the latter "mended their ways." The negative qualifications apply not to the Bolsheviks themselves but rather to the actions which made them the "lackeys of Mirbach" and put them on a path of confrontation with the peasantry. There was no negative mind set to the perception of the Bolsheviks.

But the Bolsheviks in the persons of Trotskiy, Sosnovskiy, Lashevich and Zinovyev, were significantly harsher. There was no question at all of any deeds by the Leftist SRs but rather they themselves. By repeated applause for Trotskiy's words about a party of neurasthenics and hysterics and a clutch of intellectuals, the Bolshevik faction demonstrated their rejection of the Leftist SRs on the level of a mind set. Zinovyev slandered this party, comparing it to a courtyard with a through passage and for this he was also awarded with applause (twice). Only Lenin refrained from unflattering qualifications of the party as such due to its membership, speaking about the sincere people and that they were confused and had lost their head.

In the first instance, the criticism can give rise to a negative mind set and in the second instance often criticism is the consequence of a negative mind set. In the confrontation of the Bolsheviks with the Leftist SRs, as we see, it was a matter of the second case and for the Leftist SRs with the Bolsheviks, rather the first. In Lenin (the only one of the Bolsheviks) no negative mind set can be fixed. Against the background of the rejection of the party was sympathy for the people. But, in speaking about a party "which has brought its sincerest representatives to a place where they have fallen into this morass of lie and deception," he concluded that "such a party is a dead party." And he asserted that there was no disagreement between the Leftist SRs and the Bolsheviks as Spiridonova felt, "no, this is not a disagreement, this is an actual, **irrevocable** (emphasis mine.—L.B.) rupture..." [2]. And Lenin says this in being comparatively gentle toward the party representatives. But Zinovyev who was applauded almost incessantly (17 times), won virtually all applause for unflattering responses and polemics with the Leftist SRs.

The communists by definition were the only party worthy of Marxism and the Russian revolution.

Such an aggressive mind set which was formed on the emotional subconscious level and inherent to all the Bolshevik leaders with the exception, perhaps, of Lenin leads one to the notion that it would take only the slightest spark to unleash the flames of interparty struggle aimed at destroying the supporters of the opposing party and with which there were no common memories and no uniting feature; there was only revulsion almost on a physiological level for they were hysterics and neurasthenics. Indicative is the joy which Trotskiy spoke after the notorious revolt [Kronshtadt] of his rightness in assessing the defeated party.

In light of the given analysis is it not worth raising the question of a critical examination of the real importance of the events which have gone down in history as the revolt of the Leftist SRs all the more as here there was involved such a curious figure as the well-known Blyumkin? We will conclude the preliminary analysis with this question, having promised to continue to construct the sociopsychological portraits of individual authors.

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Echo of the Afghan War

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[Article by Valentin Gennadyevich Nemirovskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent at the Krasnoyarsk State University. Our journal has published his following works: "The Image of the Desired Future as a Factor in Forming the Sociovocational Guidance of Juveniles" (No 2, 1984), "Almost a Fantasy" (co-author, No 4, 1987) and "The Attitude of Youth Toward Foreign Ideological Trends" (No 4, 1989)]

[Text] In 1989, the Sociological Laboratory of Krasnoyarsk State University conducted a questionnaire poll of 320 Afghan veterans. According to the data obtained, over 70 percent of those questioned had spent from a year to two years in Afghanistan, 13 percent had been there from six months to a year, and nine percent less than six months. A majority of them, some 75 percent, had not been wounded, 21 percent had been wounded once, and four percent repeatedly. Among those questioned eight percent were disabled.

According to their social origin, three-fourths were from worker and kolkhoz member families and the remainder were children of specialists in different spheres of activity. As a rough approximation this corresponds to the social structure of the city's population. Additional research would be needed to ascertain whether the youth were recruited equally from all social strata for Afghanistan. However, even now one is struck by the virtual absence in the sampling of children of servicemen and workers of law enforcement bodies as well as various leading workers.

A majority of those in the sampling had a secondary education—51 percent, a specialized secondary—25 percent, and a higher education—four percent, 15 percent of the veterans were studying in VUZes, and five percent had not yet received a secondary education. Over one-half of them were Komsomol members, one-third non-party persons, and 15 percent candidate members and

members of the CPSU. Two-thirds of those questioned were married and one-half had children.

The research was viewed as the first stage of a long-term study and encompassed a series of various problems of which the article presented three groups of questions: an assessment by the veterans of the Afghan War and their participation in it, the impact which this war had on the spiritual make-up of the Afghan veterans and, finally, their social activeness and political orientation.

The War In the Eyes of Veterans

An overwhelming majority of those questioned supported the decision of the Soviet government to withdraw our forces from Afghanistan. Only five percent at the moment of the poll assumed that this decision was premature. A majority (two thirds) of the Afghan veterans felt that the decision should have been taken long before. Approximately one fifth called this decision timely.

In human terms it is completely understandable that the veterans wounded in Afghanistan more actively support the government's decision to withdraw the troops from this country than those who were not wounded. Conversely, those married and with children somewhat more frequently considered this decision premature and this was obviously explained by the greater conservatism of family persons.

Opinions on the truthfulness of the press in treating the Afghan events were split and around 40 percent assumed that everything written was not the truth or, at least, the press substantially distorted events. All the remainder, a majority, viewed the treatment of the events in Afghanistan by the press, particularly recently, as completely truthful.

A majority of the young veterans positively viewed the activities of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Thus, around nine percent agreed that this was a progressive revolutionary party which was leading the masses along a path to democratic changes. In the opinion of 42 percent, this was a party which undoubtedly had committed definite political errors but a majority of the people supported it. Some 46 percent replied that the PDPA clearly had overestimated its influence on the people of Afghanistan, it had not been supported in the masses but now was endeavoring to alter the situation which had arisen. Only three percent viewed it as a party completely divorced from the people and acting separately. As we can see, as a whole, a positive critical view of the role of the PDPA prevailed.

A majority supported the policy of national reconciliation; only four percent of the respondents saw in this a humiliating and unnecessary compromise with the forces of reaction. One-half of those questioned felt that this was the only reliable way to improve the domestic political situation and raise the authority of the PDPA.

The remaining 45 percent supported a pragmatic position. In their opinion, the policy of national reconciliation was of course conciliation with the counterrevolution but at the same time an attempt to improve the existing political situation.

A majority of those questioned responded positively to the local population (43 percent as a whole good and 27 percent satisfactory). Some 21 percent voiced a clearly negative opinion of the local population. And the remaining 9 percent replied that they considered different people differently or did not voice a uniform opinion.

What do the "new veterans" think about the committing of Soviet troops to Afghanistan which marked the beginning to a decade of bloodshed? The most widespread opinion among those questioned was that "although the introduction of Soviet troops is a complicated question, the Soviet military, without doubt, provided help to the Afghan people" (60 percent of those polled). One-third of the young persons felt that this was a tragic political error. And only seven percent unconditionally support it as "this was a prompt and correct decision by the Soviet government since the Soviet troops helped defend the victories of the April Revolution." Thus, the "hawks" are a clear minority among the former internationalist soldiers while "doves" are encountered significantly more often. However, a majority, although with certain stipulations, justifies this action. Here one can see a clear tendency: the higher the educational level of the veterans the more frequently they supported the opinion that the introduction of troops into Afghanistan was a tragic political error.

There is a certain paradox here: a majority of people in the various nations of the world and who fought at one time in some place, regardless of all the terrors and hardships, considered this period the best time of their lives. A similar trend was apparent among our respondents as 62 percent responded affirmatively to the question "Would you like to go back to Afghanistan?" and 38 percent negatively. Here those who do not consider the introduction of troops into Afghanistan to be a tragic political mistake are the first to experience nostalgia for their military past.

Many fine words have been written about soldier friendship and comradely relations which in the literal sense were reinforced by blood and sweat. However, only one-third of those questioned regularly correspond or meet with their comrades. As a whole, the young veterans rarely maintain ties with their combat comrades (60 percent) or do not maintain this at all (six percent). What is the reason for this: in the rush and tension of modern life or a reticence to stir up difficult memories? Possibly it is something else? Unfortunately, at the given stage our research does not provide an answer to this question.

From the conversations published in the press with former Afghan veterans and from their comments over

the radio and television, one can often hear that proper relations were maintained among the military in Afghanistan. And the Krasnoyarsk veterans seemingly confirmed this opinion, in speaking about the unusually close and particularly trusting interpersonal relations. Nevertheless, 80 percent of those questioned stated that in Afghanistan they had encountered manifestations of improper relations and another 10 percent had not encountered these themselves but knew about such cases. Some one-fifth of those questioned felt that these relations in their way were beneficial as they formed real men and helped maintain discipline in the army. Almost one-half (48 percent) viewed the improper relations as an unpleasant phenomenon which, however, helped maintain discipline in the army. Only one-third of the Afghan veterans felt that the improper relations were an evil which had to be decisively eradicated.

As is known, hundreds of our soldiers and officers during combat in Afghanistan were taken prisoner by the enemy. Up to the present, more than 300 persons are officially listed as missing in action. What do their former fellow servicemen think about this? One-half of those questioned sympathized with them feeling that they must be aided in every possible way in returning home. One-third of those questioned justified their attitude toward our prisoners of war by the circumstances under which they were captured. Some 13 percent voiced a negative attitude toward them while four percent of the young veterans were unable to state their opinion.

As we can see, although the young veterans view the Afghan war and their involvement in it in a rather contradictory manner, self-justification prevails in their words. In avoiding extreme viewpoints, the opinion of a majority can be expressed in the following manner: we provided definite aid to the Afghan government but the troops should have been withdrawn sooner.

Heroes or Victims?

Involvement in combat could not help but tell on the spiritual world of the young persons.¹ Certainly any war, even the most just, and which cannot be said of the Afghan war, has a strong psychotraumatizing effect. Nevertheless, more than one-half of those questioned

stated that Afghanistan had changed them for the better. One-fourth said both for the better and for the worse. Some 14 percent assumed that Afghanistan did not change them. And only 6 percent replied that Afghanistan influenced them for the worse. Thus, how precisely were these changes reflected?

According to the results of content analysis of the replies by the veterans, involvement in the Afghan campaign basically had a positive influence on them. Thus, according to the opinion of one-third of those polled, Afghanistan taught them to value and understand others, life, friendship, the motherland and themselves. In the opinion of one-fourth of the veterans, they became more independent, strong-willed, self-disciplined, they gained confidence in themselves, a goal in life, they matured and became adult. Similar to these answers is the opinion of another 18 percent of those polled who write about a complete change in their attitude toward life. One-tenth of the veterans assumed that the war in Afghanistan had taught them justice and implacability toward evil. Only 14 percent wrote about the negative effect of combat saying they had become nervous, harsh and cruel and it was more difficult to deal with others around.

On the basis of the quoted data, the conclusion can be drawn on the beneficial effect of military operations on the spiritual and moral development of a young man. However, in our view, this would be unjustifiably hurried. Certainly any war, even a war of liberation, involves the violating of the higher moral value, the value of the life of another person. Can one then speak about the war from the outset as criminal and absurd, when a majority of the local inhabitants viewed the internationalist soldiers as foreign invaders!

We feel that the upbeat coloring to the answers of a majority of the Afghan veterans has been caused by the effect of mechanisms of psychological defense when negative events are "forgotten." Here a definite role is also played by the specific features of the combat situation with its psychological saturation and moral-goal certainty: it is no accident that many participants of the Great Patriotic War considered this the best time of their lives.

The attitude of the young men to their involvement in the Afghan campaign was assessed using four parameters: emotional, moral, practical and temporal. For each of these positive views prevailed (see Table 1).

Table 1: Attitude of Afghan Veterans to Their Stay in Afghanistan, %

Judgments	Agree Fully	Agree Partially	Disagree
Emotional:			
Time spent in Afghanistan was happiest time in my life	10	42	48
Afghanistan was the most difficult and joyless time in my life	7	29	64
Moral:			
I am proud I served in Afghanistan	58	26	16
I am ashamed that I was involved in this war	3	12	85

Table 1: Attitude of Afghan Veterans to Their Stay in Afghanistan, % (Continued)

Judgments	Agree Fully	Agree Partially	Disagree
Practical:			
Only in Afghanistan did I feel my necessity and irreplaceability	25	43	32
I felt myself superfluous there	5	14	81
Future:			
I will never forget Afghanistan	96	3	31
I do not want to recall all that happened there	13	29	58

As is shown in the table, the highest are the future assessments which express the temporal aspect of the attitude in that a predominant majority of those questioned will never be able to forget Afghanistan, even if some of them do not want to recall what happened there. In second place are the moral assessments and namely the pride for participation in the Afghan War, with more than one-half of those questioned unconditionally experiencing this feeling. Lower were the practical assessments. The meagerest were the emotional assessments and only one-tenth of the Krasnoyarsk Afghan veterans that the time spent in this southern nation was the "happiest time" in my life.

The eight indicators used by us for the attitude of the veterans to the war in Afghanistan form two complexes, one of which describes a positive attitude toward it and the other a negative one. The first includes the successively interrelated awareness of their need in Afghanistan, the assessment of the time spent there as the happiest period of their life and pride for the fact that they served in Afghanistan. The second complex of descriptions for the attitude toward the war is a sort of "star" the center of which is the judgment: "Afghanistan was the hardest and most joyless time in my life." Linked to this are a feeling of shame for participation in this war, an awareness that he was superfluous there and, finally, a reticence to recall the events which happened then. These two complexes of ideas—positive and negative—are linked together by the judgment "I will never be able to forget Afghanistan." This yet again shows that at present everything that happened close to our southern frontiers, both the heroic and the tragic, the base and the loathsome is already separated from us by the river of time. It remains real for the participants of those events only due to human memory.

Initially, the hypothesis was advanced by us that the morally positive attitude toward the war in Afghanistan (the indicator "I am proud of serving in Afghanistan") was caused primarily by massed and ideological action. This hypothesis was confirmed in the research results. As a rule, those who spent a comparatively short time of under six months there are proud of their involvement in the war. Significantly more critical of it are the fellows who were on Afghan land, as they say, "from the entire round," and who had their fill of the "military romance"

and rather profoundly felt a "feeling of performed international duty." This feeling was rarely felt by those veterans who due to their higher cultural and educational level (a higher or incomplete higher education) were inclined to be critical of the imposed ideological stereotypes and social myths.

The emotional aspect of assessing involvement in the Afghan War also to a certain degree was subjected to the influence of ideology. In particular, members of the CPSU and the Komsomol more often term this period the happiest time in their lives. The wounded and disabled upheld this opinion significantly more rarely than did those who had the good fortune of remaining uninjured.

In speaking about the practical and future aspects of the assessment of participation in combat, we would point out that the disabled more rarely admit their necessity there but more often recollect about Afghanistan. Also considering themselves superfluous were those who spent in Afghanistan a comparatively short time of less than a year (obviously, this is explained by the incomplete process of adaptation to combat) and by those who have children. This is also characteristic for young persons who fought in Afghanistan during the last years of the longest war which the Soviet Union has waged, when the attitude of society toward it became significantly more critical than at the beginning of the 1980s.

A very indicative picture emerged: related to the several-score indicators of the social mind sets and orientations recorded in the research were only those indicators of assessing involvement in the war in Afghanistan which express a negative attitude toward it. The indicators of a positive attitude (pride, good fortune, a sensation of one's necessity and irreplaceability) correlate only with other indicators of the assessment and also the indicators of certain social characteristics such as age, educational level, party affiliation, and time spent in Afghanistan. From this it follows that the positive assessments of their involvement in the war were assimilated by many veterans only on a verbal level, under the influence of propaganda and under the effect of the mechanisms of psychological defense.

There is the opinion that participation in the Afghan War became for the young persons involved in it a real school of patriotism. The data obtained by us force us to doubt this.

Patriotism is an exceptionally complex spiritual formation which allows a differing interpretation. In accord with our tasks, two indicators were employed: notions about the motives of the soldier's participation in combat and his orientation to the method of defending the motherland in a military situation. For an analysis of the former, the respondents were given a hypothetical question: "Soldiers fighting on the front are guided by different feelings. What do you think if a military situation were to arise, what would your contemporary in battle think about and what would he experience?" Then they were offered to judge using a three-point scale ten possible motives of conduct. For measuring the second indicator, the following question was used also of a hypothetical sort: "The defense of the motherland is an honorable duty for each person. But the motherland can be defended in different ways. Thus, during the Great Patriotic War, one young person, let us call him Vladimir, volunteered for the front. A second, Sergey, continued studying in the institute until he received his notification from the military commissariat, a third, Andrey, worked hard at a defense plant during the entire war. A fourth, Viktor, during the entire war studied in an institute, he subsequently became a good specialist and employed his knowledge in rebuilding the economy. In the place of which of these could you bring the greater benefit?" As the readers will clearly notice, the wording of the question emphasized the high social significance of each variation of conduct. Understandably, this was done in the aim to a certain degree of compensating for the influence of the social standards which actively propagandize volunteering and self-sacrifice.

As a "control" group for our experiment, we used 3,000 students from the senior years of the VUZes of Krasnoyarsk and they were polled by sociologists from Krasnoyarsk State University in 1983, that is, at the very peak of the Afghan story. In the given instance, the replies from the students are indicative considering two circumstances. In the first place, they are the most highly educated part of the youth and their mind directly reflected both the stereotypes of the conscience of their age cohort as well as the results of mass ideological action. No other category of the youth has been exposed to such intense ideological influence, with the exception, perhaps, of schoolchildren. However, the latter still do not possess sufficient social experience and psychological maturity to consciously judge the questions of interest to us. Secondly, none of them had participated in military operations.

A readiness to volunteer for the front is equally inherent both to the veterans and to the students as three-fourths of the representatives in each group expressed an intention to follow the example of Vladimir. At the same time, 30-40 percent of the future specialists, along with a readiness to volunteer for the front, noted other variations of behavior, identifying with Sergey, Andrey or Viktor [1, pp 163-165]. Among the Afghan veterans desiring to follow the example of Sergey, Andrey or Viktor, there were, respectively, 10 percent, five percent and three percent.

Thus, the Afghan veterans more actively express a readiness to volunteer for the front than did the students who had not participated in combat. But these views also depend upon their attitude toward the Afghan War: the more negatively a veteran views his participation in it, the lower the probability that he would choose the intention of following the example of Vladimir, that is, volunteer for the front.

Very indicative is the structure of notions of the veterans concerning the motives of conduct in combat as expressed by a maximum correlation graph. The latter is a correlation star in the center of which is the motive "protection of one's children." We feel that such a structure is already rationalized, for in a period of involvement in combat operations a predominant majority of our respondents was still not married and did not have children.

There is a definite correlation between the answers to the given hypothetical question and an assessment of their own involvement in the Afghan War. In particular, the young people who considered their stay in Afghanistan as the hardest and unhappiest time in their life assume more rarely than others that their contemporary in combat will defend his future and the party. Those who are reticent to recall what happened in this "longest war" are not inclined to point out motives such as defense of relatives, the home city, settlement, the carrying out of orders and a desire to destroy the enemy.

Following the results of factor analysis, four types of motivation for the behavior of soldiers in combat were established. The first factor describes social motives (protection of relatives, children, friends, the city or settlement), but rejects personality ones (protection of one's life, one's conviction, or one's future), ideological (defense of the party), patriotic (defense of the motherland) and aggressive (a desire to destroy the enemy). The second characterizes the personality motives but denies the social and aggressive. The third expresses the aggressive motive and rejects disciplinary (carrying out orders), the patriotic and the ideological. The fourth describes the ideological and patriotic motives in denying the social and personality.

In terms of significance for the veterans, the motives can be ranked as follows: 1) patriotic; 2) aggressive; 3) disciplinary; 4) social; 5) personality; 6) ideological. For the VUZ students polled 7 years ago, a completely different picture was observed. For them in first place there was a challenge between the ideological and patriotic motives, social ones were in third place, personality in fourth, then came disciplinary with aggressive completing the ranking. There was a sharp discrepancy in the idealized notions of war formed under peacetime conditions and those judgments which arose under the conditions of a combat situation. Nevertheless, the motive of patriotism both among the students and the veterans holds a leading place in the hierarchy of judgments. Such a coinciding among both leads one to the notion that this is an unique sociocultural phenomenon which plays an

important role in the action of the mechanisms of psychological defense. Also arguing in favor of such an assumption is the fact that in both groups it shows the least variation. Incidentally, among the veterans the ideological motive has the greatest variation and among the students the aggressive. Thus, under the influence of combat there are significant changes in the notions concerning motivation and conduct in combat. Its core, the social and personality motives, remain unchanged. However, the desire to defend the party changes places with the desire to destroy the enemy. It would be naive to speak about a uniformly positive influence of involvement in real combat on shaping the feeling of patriotism in the youth. Much here depends upon the self-awareness of a person and upon the depth to which he has analyzed the events occurring there. It is no accident that only a small portion of the veterans takes an active part in the patriotic education of juveniles and many of them in one way or another endeavor to avoid any social activeness.

The index for overall satisfaction with life among the Afghan veterans does not differ from the given indicator in the other youth categories. At the same time, there is substantially lower satisfaction with the socioeconomic aspects of life: housing and domestic conditions, the supply of food and industrial goods, the cultural development of a city, and their own material situation. However, as a whole, satisfaction with interpersonal relations is higher, including: relations with parents, with one's wife, with comrades on the job and in study. The differences in the other indicators of satisfaction are statistically insignificant. As we see, the Afghan veterans were right that participation in military operations taught them to understand others better. It is no accident that the trend was disclosed: the longer time a young person spent in Afghanistan the more he was satisfied with his relations with his wife and the possibility of realizing his plans.

As might be expected, the wounded and disabled were least satisfied with various aspects of their life. An exception is the supply of food and industrial goods as the wounded and disabled, as a rule, receive various "packages." And in addition, relations with one's wife who clearly often becomes the chief support in the life of a former internationalist soldier. However, frequently family relations do not withstand the testing by the routine of everyday life as respondents with children are less satisfied with relations with their better half than are those who live still without children.

The attitude toward life, as is known, is inseparably linked with an attitude toward death. As a result of content analysis of the replies by various groups of respondents to the questions in the course of formalized interviews, five characteristic notions about immortality were established and the indicators of these were incorporated into the instrumentarium of a series of research studies, including in the questionnaire polling of the former Afghan veterans. These are: sociocreative "after death a person continues to live in his deeds as long as others remember him," sociodemographic "after death a

person continues to live in his children and grandchildren," theological "after death only a person's body disappears but his soul in one form or another continues to exist independently," and hedonistic "after death there will be nothing and for this reason one must get from life everything that one can." Research has shown that orientation to sociocreative immortality among the former Afghan soldiers was somewhat higher than, for example, among the graduates of secondary schools, PTU [vocational-technical school], technical schools and VUZ students, with respectively 96 percent and 86 percent of those questioned expressing to one degree or another agreement with the given judgment. Conversely, the hedonistic orientations were weaker: respectively, 69 percent and 79 percent. Sociodemographic and theological immortality is of the same importance for them: respectively, 89 percent and 96 percent, and somewhat weaker are the hedonistic and sociodemographic orientations: respectively, 69 percent and 79 percent, 89 percent and 96 percent. Theological immortality is of the same significance for them.

The attitude toward a theological concept is linked differently to party affiliation and age of those polled. With party member, as a rule, rejecting this while older respondents, on the contrary, more frequently prefer it. We consider that here one feels, on the one hand, imbedded ideological stereotypes and, on the other, experience in life and reflection on the sense of life.

The notion of theological immortality is also linked to a negative attitude toward the war in Afghanistan. Believing in the immortality of the soul are primarily those veterans who considered themselves superfluous there, who did not want to recall that time, who were ashamed of their involvement in the Afghan War and considered that the time spent there was the hardest and unhappiest in their life. For some of them the sensation of tragicness and the absurdity of the events which occurred there and an awareness of the ease with which one could deprive any person of his life led to a desire to gain from life all that was possible, that is, hedonistic orientation. Characteristically, the sociocreative and sociodemographic attitude toward death are not linked either to an assessment of the Afghan events or to indicators of the respondent's social status. For this reason, it can be assumed that they are often assimilated only on a verbal level without involving the motivational system of the young persons.

Thus, to the question given in the title of this section one must answer affirmatively. Yes, they are victims because they died and suffered in a senseless war unleashed by criminal leadership. "Any destruction and particularly murder is contrary to human nature itself and for this reason it is particularly painful even if it is committed under the conditions of a war," said Pitirim, the Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryev. And, finally, the spiritual traumas which the war brings are so diverse and so socially broad that absolutely everyone suffers from them. Even if a soldier has returned from their bold, courageous and physically strong, whatever he might say about this, he still has

been spiritually traumatized [1, pp 8-11]. Yes, they are heroes because they carried out their duty.

However, it must be self-critically recognized that the materials obtained by us do not provide an answer to another equally important question of "can an active participant in a criminal war be a hero?" Until recently this was often perceived as a rhetorical question, for everyone knows the conclusion of the Nuremberg Trial: "the execution of a criminal order does not free one from the responsibility of the crime." But here an official view of the Afghan War has been given and this question has moved into the practical plane. It is the veterans who first of all must answer.

Radicals or Conservatives?

The research has shown that the Afghan veterans view the state of our society more critically than do the other categories of modern youth. Only one percent (among the student youth, six percent) feels that "in our society everything is good and nothing need be changed." Some 13 percent of the Afghan veterans feel that "in our society there are certain problems which demand a solution" [50 percent], while 86 percent feel "our society requires a fundamental improvement and change" (44 percent). They participate somewhat more actively in perestroika: 20 percent, while among the student youth such a view was checked by half this amount, 11 percent. Nevertheless, a majority, in their words, do not take any real part in improving society: for 23 percent "because I do not know what must be done for this" (among the students 45 percent) and 57 percent "because nothing really depends upon me" (44 percent).

However, regardless of the obstacles to its realization, virtually each man had a definite social ideal. This is an aggregate of higher social values. In working out the instrumentarium we have relied on the work of V.N. Shilov [2].²

Among the Krasnoyarsk Afghan veterans, the most significant was "security" which included the demand of maintaining peace and preserving a healthy environment. "Labor," "collectivism" and "humanism" possess high importance. At the same time, least important is "social justice" which in the questionnaire was interpreted as establishing an order whereby the well-being of a person would be determined solely by his personal qualities and accomplishments; one-fourth of those questioned considered this demand on social life to be "unimportant."

Among the last in terms of importance were "democracy" (the involvement of each citizen in the governing of society), "dignity," "liberty" as the providing of equal opportunities for achieving success in life as well as "equality" and "prosperity."

It must be said that the structure of higher sociopolitical values among the veterans as a whole corresponds to the structure disclosed among the student youth and this is also confirmed by the results of factor analysis. However,

the Afghan veterans as a whole are significantly more demanding on society and the importance of all values is somewhat higher for them.

Characteristically, among the CPSU members one more often encounters conservatives than among the nonparty persons or Komsomol members. For the conservatives more significant are the values expressing demands for maintaining a stable social system (protecting the environment, maintaining peace, collectivism and labor) and not for the development of this system.

Thus, in the mass conscience of former Afghan veterans as, incidentally, among the other youth categories, the value system exists not as a single whole but in the form of a number of contradictory and at times mutually exclusive values. Each of the isolated orientations represents, as it were, a contradictory copy of several fragments of the socialist social ideal. And it often assumes the form of a mass deindividualized society. A society which is constantly developing, in which reign peace and order, everything is done for the good of man, the people, as a rule, are poor and help one another, each person works and has an opportunity for all-round development. However, is it possible to establish such a society on the principles of collectivism and humanism (and to which a majority of those questioned is oriented) without democracy and social justice, without freedom and respect for the dignity of each person? The tragic experience of our nation, like a number of other countries which followed the infectious example of building "the most just society," convincingly bespeaks the reverse.

Thus, we have established how the veterans see the restructured society. Logically the question arises in what manner do they intend to restructure it?

The answers of the young persons to the so-called "hypothetical question" of "as you know, in many nations of the world your contemporaries are working actively for social progress. What, in your opinion, forms of action are most effective?" make it possible to draw definite conclusions on the acceptable and unacceptable methods in the struggle to restructure society. The use of factor analysis has shown that a broad campaign in the press, strikes (the refusal to study), and massed armed struggle represent independent, often mutually exclusive, views concerning the method of action in extremely political situations. In essence, these are three consecutive levels in the development of political struggle. Correspondingly, there are three categories of young persons who consider one or another form of action as the most effective. Let us call them arbitrarily "propagandists," "strikers" and "fighters." Characteristically, a majority of the veterans does not view participation in demonstrations as an independent form of political struggle and both the "propagandists" as well as the "strikers" or "fighters" consider it possible to resort to this.

The reader would certainly be interested in the question of which of the established groups is most widely represented among the veterans? In first place are the "strikers," then the "fighters" with the "propagandists" a significant distance behind them.

It must be emphasized that none of those questioned pointed to such methods of political struggle as underground propaganda or passive resistance (a withdrawal from active social life) as the most effective and just one percent mentioned terroristic acts. Thus, the veterans prefer massive legal forms of struggle.

From this it can be assumed that in the event that an acute crisis situation were to break out in our country the veterans would actively take part, primarily, in peaceful mass forms of struggle but would not abandon armed methods. The "decisive intentions" of a majority of the Afghan veterans can be seen from the fact that two-thirds of them would be ready to volunteer for any country where the people are fighting for their independence. Characteristically, many of them are indifferent as to precisely where they would go and they are ready to go to any country in the world. Of the specific nations mentioned by our respondents, first place was shared by Nicaragua and Afghanistan and a significantly smaller number of young persons named Lebanon, Angola, El Salvador and Chile. Figuring for some were such countries as Libya, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Cuba, South Africa, Panama and even...the United States, Italy and China.

But against what social institutions or strata in our society could such vehement young persons direct their anger? Clearly, it can be assumed that this would be directed primarily at those whom they consider guilty of their misfortunes and difficulties as well as other "bad" or "not good" persons.

The respondents were asked to answer the following question: "There is the opinion that among the representatives of the various social groups positive and negative personal qualities are unequally distributed. For example, such as friendship, honesty, industry, guile, greed and so forth. What do you think about this matter?" The evaluation scale had three levels: "Positive qualities are encountered more often," "Distributed equally" and "Negative qualities are encountered more often."

In the opinion of a predominant majority of those questioned, negative qualities prevail among the representatives of all other nationalities with the exception of one's own, among the workers in the service sphere, party and soviet workers, enterprise leaders, persons engaged in individual labor activity and the representatives of the various youth movements and antisocial groups (criminals, alcoholics, black marketeers). As we can see, the direct actions of the Afghan veterans can be aimed at persons who possess real power or those who, in their opinion, earn too much. Finally, both against the antisocial groups as well as against those youth movements which seem that way to them.³

These data largely are confirmed by the view of those polled of just who was to blame for the serious difficulties which the veterans encountered in returning to a

peacetime life. In first place in terms of "guilt" in the minds of the young veterans, were the party and soviet bodies as well as "the entire system" which they embody. Almost a third of those questioned answered in this way. Second place is held by the administration of the industrial and other enterprises as well as other "bureaucrats," with approximately one-fifth of the young persons. In third place is the Komsomol with 15 percent. Some 10 percent self-critically blamed themselves for their own problems. In fifth place are parents (five percent), all persons around (five percent) or "no one specifically" (five percent). Then follow friends (three percent) and the army and the Ministry of Defense (three percent).

Thus, among the questioned Afghan veterans there is a predominance of contradictory radical-conservative political orientations. The latter express the desire of the veterans for social changes and for which they are ready to fight actively, in employing various methods, right up to extremist ones. However, in acting against the administrative-command system for actual realization the Afghan veterans can offer chiefly different variations of the totalitarian social ideal.

Like other categories of modern youth, inherent to them is a Manichean awareness related, in particular, to a clear dividing of those around into "our own good" and "bad others." One of its manifestations is the "defense mind" which is most clearly represented precisely among the Afghan veterans. Participation in a war which for a long time was "unknown" and then became criminal in the eyes of many Soviet persons had on them a powerful psychotraumatizing and marginalizing effect. For this reason, the veterans of the Afghan War represent an explosive social material which could be ignited rather easily by a spark both from the left and from the right. At the same time, even the rank-and-file Afghan veterans are a very heterogeneous group which is differentiated not only in accord with its social origin or current status but also by the nature of involvement in the hostilities, by the length of the stay in Afghanistan, by wounding or disability and most importantly to a moral assessment of their involvement in the undeclared war.

Footnotes

1. In the given article, we are restricting ourselves to an analysis of certain value orientations and social stereotypes in the mass conscience of the Afghan veterans, without reviewing the results of utilizing various psychological methods.

2. In the questionnaire the values of socialism were viewed as demands placed by man on the organization of social life: "The opportunity for each person to count on respect for himself," that is, dignity, good relations between people, mutual aid and support, collectivism and so forth.

3. Similar data were obtained by the sociological service of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio]: the questioned Afghan veterans saw themselves, first of all, as active participants in the military-patriotic education of the youth and as assistants of the law enforcement bodies in establishing public order in the nation [3].

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The Demographic Situation in Gomel Oblast (Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident)

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[Article by Anatoliy Gennadyevich Zlotnikov, candidate of economic sciences and docent at the Gomel Cooperative Institute. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] At present, Chernobyl has become a synonym for ecological and social tragedy. This foreboding word more and more frequently is heard in various sorts of disasters: "Chernobyl in Chukotka," "The Aral Chernobyl," "The Belorussian Chernobyl" (almost 500 tons of toxic chemicals were buried at the Drissenskiy Sovkhoz in Verkhnedvinskiy Rayon of Vitebsk Oblast), "Biological Chernobyl," "Social Chernobyl," "Second Chernobyl" and others. The people are not merely naming but also expressing their attitude toward these terrible phenomena. The environment is having a deleterious impact on the demographic processes including life expectancy and state of health, the level of the death rate and birthrate as well as the direction of migrational flows.

As a rule, researchers examine changes in the demographic situation through the prism of socioeconomic factors. However, in recent years the demographic conduct of the population in a number of the nation's regions has begun to be determined by factors of an ecological sort. Their effect has been apparent first of all in the regions which suffered in the accident at the Chernobyl AES and primarily in Gomel Oblast of Belorussia.

In the demographic behavior of the population in Gomel Oblast during the years between the last two censuses, two periods can be established: a favorable one, prior to the tragedy at the Chernobyl AES (1979-1985) and an unfavorable one after the accident (1986-1989). The first period was characterized by significant increases in the size of the population with over 11,000 persons a year. During the second half of 1986, in the oblast there was a sharp drop in the size of the population and then the growth rate was so low that subsequently it was not possible to halt the course of the negative processes. While at the beginning of 1986, 1,678,000 persons lived in the oblast, at the start of 1987, the figure was already 1,667,000 and in 1988, 1,666,000. According to the materials of the 1989 Census, as at the beginning of 1990, there were 1,674,000 persons (1,599,000 according to the 1979 Census). These data characterize 1979-1985 as a period of the most favorable demographic development and 1986-1989 as an unfavorable period.

The highest radioactive contamination occurred in five oblasts: Kiev and Zhitomir (Ukraine), Gomel and Mogilev (Belorussia) as well as Bryansk (RSFSR). Of the 6 oblasts in Belorussia, 5 (with the exception of Vitebsk) have significant territories with a high level of radioactive contamination. Zhitomir and Bryansk Oblasts are among the 17 oblasts of the nation (10 in the RSFSR and 7 in the Ukraine), where during the period between the last two censuses there has been a decline in the total size of the population. If the changes in the size of the population in Gomel, Kiev and Mogilev Oblasts prior to the accident showed a tendency to increase (and in Gomel Oblast the highest rates were noticed), after the accident at the Chernobyl AES the size of the population in these oblasts (Gomel and Kiev after 1986, Mogilev after 1988, when the scale of contamination also became known there) declined sharply (Table 1).

Table 1: Change in the Number of Population in the Oblasts Suffering Most From the Accident at the Chernobyl AES* (estimate on 1 January, 1,000 persons)

Oblasts	1979**	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989**	1990
RSFSR												
Bryansk	1507	1500	1495	1485	1481	1479	1474	1472	1473	...	1475	1475
Ukraine												
Zhitomir	1597	1594	1589	1578	1570	1560	1551	1547	1543	...	1545	1538
Kiev	1924	1928	1926	1925	1924	1930	1933	1936	1888	...	1940	...
Belorussia												
Gomel	1599	1609	1622	1636	1646	1659	1669	1678	1667	1666	1674	1674
Mogilev	1249	1254	1257	1261	1264	1269	1275	1282	1290	1296	1285	...

* Compiled from: [1-9]. ** From the population census.

Consequently, for Kiev and Mogilev Oblasts also characteristic was the presence of two periods in the demographic conduct of the population and these were directly related to the ecological consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES: favorable before the accident and unfavorable after. But the differing approach in assessing the danger of radioactive contamination in the two republics led to different demographic consequences. In Kiev Oblast, where due to the partial informing of the public the danger of radioactive contamination was recognized much sooner than in the other stricken oblasts, in the first year after the accident the number of the population declined by 50,000 persons. However, by the start of the census they were able not only to reach the population size prior to the accident but also surpass it. In Gomel Oblast, where the danger of radioactive contamination was not recognized by the local leadership and where truthful information was absent, it has not been possible to make up for the demographic losses, even now. In Mogilev Oblast, where due to its supposed distant location from the site of the accident and where they did not give any significance to it in the first year and began to act with a significant delay, the response of the population was also delayed.

The impact of the Chernobyl accident on the demographic conduct of the population in Gomel Oblast and the oblast center which, according to the official data, was not hit at all, was manifested in several ways: a drop in the birthrate, particularly in 1987-1988, an increase in the number of abortions, particularly from the second half of 1986, and a significant shift in the migration processes (Table 2). The total birthrate in 1985 here was 17.6 per thousand, in 1987, it was 14.9 per thousand, in 1988, 16.6 per thousand and in 1989, 15.5 per thousand.¹ However, it is scarcely valid to consider the entire decline in the birthrate in this region to the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl. The problem is that the given trend since 1988 has been typical for a majority of the nation's regions. This was due to the start of a new wave of decline in the birthrate (the second since the Great Patriotic War). But in Gomel Oblast, as in Belorussia as a whole, these two unfavorable trends coincided. The increase in the number of persons entering the region was unexpected but completely explainable: the total immigration rate in 1985 was 49.4 per thousand and in the postaccident period 54.9-56.9 per thousand. The overall emigration coefficient rose from 45.5 per thousand in 1985 to 62.6 per thousand in 1986 (55.6 per thousand in 1987). In recent years, the intensity of emigration declined but not only in the oblast center.

Table 2: Basic Demographic Indicators of Gomel Oblast,* per thousand

Area	Birthrate					Death Rate					Net Immigration					Net Emigration				
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Total for oblast	17.6	17.2	14.9	16.6	15.5	10.4	9.4	9.8	10.1	10.2	49.3	56.9	55.7	54.9	45.8	45.5	62.6	55.6	46.3	46.3
Including:																				
—Urban locality	19.4	19.0	16.0	17.9	17.2	7.2	6.9	6.9	7.2	7.6	55.5	54.9	56.4	56.0	45.9	40.3	52.1	47.9	39.8	40.3
—Oblast center	18.2	17.7	15.1	16.8	16.1	6.7	6.3	6.5	6.5	7.0	53.4	50.0	49.5	47.3	41.9	37.0	40.7	39.0	34.8	39.0
—Rural locality	14.7	15.1	13.1	14.3	12.7	15.1	13.0	14.5	15.0	14.9	39.9	60.1	54.4	53.0	43.4	53.4	79.6	68.7	57.7	56.7

* Calculated from the primary accounting data of the Oblast Statistical Administration.

The basic reason for the migrational loss of the population from the oblast, in our opinion, is the information famine for the problems related to the Chernobyl accident. The population was unable to obtain an intelligible answer to the question of the radiation level and the degree of contamination of various territories by cesium and strontium or on the impact of radioactive contamination on health. The people were unable to understand why the residents were moved out of the 30-km zone but teams to prepare fodder were sent in there.

A month after the Chernobyl accident, we carried out an analysis of materials from a questionnaire on the problem of the effectiveness of propaganda activities at the Gomel Radio Plant (334 persons were questioned), and there were several questions related to the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl which was 130 km from the oblast center. Over 2/3 of the respondents stated

that most often in recent days they had been bothered by the problem of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. However, the lecturers and propagandists did not have information on the actual state of affairs. Only the superior oblast leadership had this.

Information collected immediately after was provided to the party bodies but the authorities did not pay proper attention to this. The necessary measures were not taken. This complicated the attitude of the public to the party bodies² and led to errors in migration policy. For example, the settlers from the 30-km zone were built housing in other rayons which after careful metering turned out to be in a number of instances not the best in terms of the level of radiation contamination. Up to now the activities of the oblast and republic leaders have been viewed extremely negatively. For example, among the ecological demands heard at numerous meetings and

assemblies in the oblast and republic as well as in the statements of the strike committees were appeals to initiate criminal proceedings against the oblast and republic leaders for concealing information on the true state of affairs with the radiation situation.

The lack of information teaches the people to read between the lines and forms the stereotype that if accurate figures are not given or if the dosimetric instruments are confiscated then this means that there is something to conceal. And the conditions of life are judged unfavorable. All of this has led to radiophobia and to the circulating of rumors and heresay. This, naturally, was reflected in increased migration from the Gomel area. It would be hard to describe the crowds of people at the Gomel stations in May-June 1986. Here the older generation recalled the streams of refugees in 1941.

At the same time, the data of the Oblast Statistical Administration show an increase in the number of persons moving into the oblast territory. This seemingly unnatural situation was caused by the movement out of the 30-km zone. However, while previously Gomel was a place where inhabitants of other regions of the nation endeavored to move, as of now they have no such desire. At present, a resident of Gomel finds it virtually impossible to exchange his housing for an apartment in other cities of the republic and nation. The migration rise in the population of the oblast center during the postaccident period declined by 1.5-fold. The increase in the size of Gomel's population has dropped by 4- or 5-fold: while prior to the accident it had high indicators for the absolute increase in the size of the population (an

average of 13,500 persons a year) among the major cities of the Soviet Union, now it is in one of the last places in this group. In 1988, the size of Gomel's population increased by just 3,000 persons and in 1989, by 6,000.

Let us examine the dynamics for the growth of morbidity in the adult and child population of Gomel and Mogilev, in comparison with an oblast center which did not suffer in the accident (in Table 3 this is Grodno, where large chemical industry enterprises are operating). The leadership of the USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health] and the Belorussian Minzdrav feels that this increase was due to an improved quality of diagnostics making it possible to more effectively detect illnesses. As was shown by a discussion of the problems involved in implementing the Belorussian State Program for Eliminating the Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident at a traveling session of the Presidium of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences in Mogilev as well as the work of the interrepublic scientific-practical conference "Chernobyl: Socioeconomic and Moral Aspects," practicing physicians and scientists in the republic have a different viewpoint. In their opinion, this was primarily the result of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident [10-11]. According to all indicators, with the exception of the illnesses involving the organs of hearing and the skin in children, the average annual increase rates for illnesses in Gomel and Mogilev over the last 3 1/2 years since the accident were higher than in Grodno. And while in Grodno the level of the six types of illnesses has declined among the adult population, in Gomel a similar trend has been recorded only for one indicator.

Table 3: Indicators for the Morbidity of the Population in a Number of Belorussian Cities*

Types of Illnesses	Adult Population			Children		
	Gomel	Mogilev	Grodno	Gomel	Mogilev	Grodno
Neoplasms	3.84/28.7	3.72/13.9	3.48/-12.1	—	—	—
Hypertensive illness	35.28/38.4	64.08/19.4	35.64/-2.5	—	—	—
Ischemic heart disease	43.56/29.9	46.92/53.8	32.64/2.8	—	—	—
Illnesses of						
—Eyes	3.00/135.4	7.92/27.2	2.88/-23.9	14.64/89.5	12.12/44.0	8.52/12.3
—Hearing organs	2.83/6.2	9.73/33.6	3.24/-20.7	36.04/59.8	57.24/110.2	37.66/77.4
—Upper respiratory tracts	178.20/37.7	391.56/34.4	82.56/-15.5	1161.72/23.8	1186.32/29.0	742.56/-7.9
—Digestive organs	43.68/31.7	42.48/17.0	26.88/1.4	23.88/60.6	26.12/51.1	21.84/20.4
—Urogenital system	6.72/28.3	14.04/27.3	8.04/24.1	4.43/86.8	5.04/84.7	5.52/40.0
—Skin	3.36/2.7	20.28/22.9	5.16/-18.2	5.52/-8.6	22.08/27.3	5.64/119.2
—Other illnesses of respiratory organs	63.84/33.6	122.88/34.9	42.12/22.8	365.28/50.7	309.36/25.5	166.80/4.8

* Calculated from the data of the automated information system Health of the USSR Goskomstat [State Statistics Committee]. The numerator—the indicator of relative morbidity per 1,000 inhabitants in 1988; the denominator—the annual average increase rate (decline) in the relative morbidity over 1985-1988, %.

We would point out that the ecological situation in Gomel related to the release of harmful substances into the atmosphere of the oblast center has significantly improved. The release of harmful substances per city inhabitant over the last 3 years has declined by more than 20 percent. Is this not proof of the influence of other factors and in particular the consequences of the Chernobyl accident on the increased morbidity of the city's population?

At present, the inhabitants of Gomel and the Gomel area suffer from chronic illnesses including: vascular, neurological, gastrointestinal, endocrinal and of the respiratory tracts. The organism is finding it evermore difficult to protect itself from flu as was clearly demonstrated by the epidemic in the winter of 1989-1990.

As for the mortality level of the population in Gomel Oblast, it has become even lower in the postaccident period. Thus, the total death rate in 1985 equaled 10.4 per thousand and after the accident it was: in 1986, 9.4 per thousand, in 1987, 9.8 per thousand, in 1988, 10.1 per thousand and in 1989 10.2 per thousand. The assumption may occur that the consequences of the accident were not so terrible as the death rate (and particularly infantile) has shown a tendency to drop. But the problem is that the most active migrants were families where one of the members had poor health or a predisposition for illness. The healthier population remained on the spot, however after a sharp drop in 1986, the death rate in the oblast began to steadily rise.

In 1985-1988, the indicator of the infant death rate was, respectively: 16.3, 13.4, 14.1 and 12.1 per thousand [12] and this correlates with the trend for a drop in the birthrate: the lower the birthrate, the lower infant mortality. Conversely, a higher birthrate is accompanied by a rise in the level of infant mortality. Moreover, many women under conditions of radiation uncertainty and, hence, the danger of a radioactive effect on offspring, have deferred their plans to have a child. Under these conditions, the families which considered themselves healthier took the risk. Naturally, when healthier (according to their own subjective views) women began to give birth, there was a decline in the indicator of infant mortality. This means that there are no grounds to consider the demographic situation in the oblast favorable all the more as since the accident at Chernobyl there has been a rise in abortions. The USSR Minzdrav and the Belorussian Minzdrav are endeavoring to distance themselves from the increasing number of abortions and protect "the honor of the uniform," stating that the public health bodies did not give recommendations to pregnant women to terminate pregnancy and that this is a private initiative of the women themselves and a result of their radiophobia.

Of course, if the public health system is identified just with the personnel of the ministries or the oblast public health departments, then no one saw their written instructions on this question. However, the public health system is not only and not so much the personnel of the

ministries and the oblast public health departments as it is the ordinary physicians and midwives to whom the pregnant women turned for advice and consultation. And a majority of the physicians under the existing conditions considered a birth undesirable. If the bureaucracy did not see possible harm, the regular physicians considered otherwise. According to those materials available to us (they have been verified by an analysis of the data on the birthrate for the months of 1986 and 1987), one can state a significant increase in abortions from May 1986 and their number in individual regions of the oblast more than doubled.

The tragedy of Chernobyl has shown that indifference and negligence, callousness and hate at present are becoming almost the same sources of danger as a war. There is a dividing of people not only in the zone but even in the nation, that is, the irradiated and those receiving radiation, on the one hand, and those who are still clean on this level, on the other. Even recreation for inhabitants of the Chernobyl zone is a problem as many do not want to have contact with them. This was seen also from the nonfulfillment of the program for moving the residents out of the stricken rayons into the neighboring oblasts of Belorussia. In this year alone, 7,500 families should be moved out of the most heavily contaminated rayons but as a total during the current and subsequent years, around 21,000 families should be moved out of the unfavorable zones of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts. This migration strikes at the plans for improving the living conditions of inhabitants in those rayons where the flow of migrants is being directed. Moreover, at present the demographic problem arises of how marriages are to be concluded between inhabitants from the radioactive and nonradioactive zones. This problem, as the experience of Japan indicates, will be aggravated.

The antinuclear syndrome is a natural response of people encompassing all spheres. Clearly, the tragedy of Chernobyl is not only a national but also a common human disaster. Everything possible must be done so that dissatisfaction in the region does not build up like radiation. If at present we are unable to resolve the problems confronting us, then it will be too late to resolve them tomorrow, for Chernobyl is being turned into a political problem.

Footnotes

1. Of course, demography in its arsenal has more precise methods and indicators (age and total birthrates, age coefficients for mortality) in comparison with the ones which we are using here. But the author has used the most accessible indicators (since those who view the demographic situation as favorable [12] refer to them) in order to disclose the real situation in the system and in these simple indicators.

2. The confrontation can be seen from the results of the elections to the USSR people's deputies. Thus, the first secretary of the Gomel Party Obkom who ran in the elections in the spring of 1989 (the only candidate for six rayons which although not adjacent to the Chernobyl AES but, as it turned out, had suffered as much as the rayons which were partially within the 30-km zone of Chernobyl) won just 36.3 percent of the votes. Not elected to the USSR people's deputies were the first secretaries of the Gomel and Mogilev Belorussian CP Obkom (those regions of the republic which suffered most from the accident at Chernobyl and where for an extended time there was only partial information about it).

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Control of Deviant Behavior by the State and Society

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[Article by Svertlana Gavrilovna Klimova, candidate of philosophical sciences and science association at the Sector for Social Problems of Alcoholism and Drug Addiction under the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published her articles: "Attitude of Urban Dwellers to the Immediate Social Environment" (No 3, 1979) and "Interpersonal Assessment in Business Interaction" (co-author, No 5, 1988). A study of social control in terms of antisocial conduct has been made by us within the Scientific Research Project on "Deviant Conduct Under the Conditions of Social Changes and Reform" of the Academy Program "Man, Science, Society" since 1989]

[Text] The notions of social control which have existed for a long time in Soviet sociology reflected a real situation of all-permeating control by state officials and their volunteer assistants over ordinary citizens. In the 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s, Soviet scientists examined the problem of social control in the context of subordinating the behavior of individuals to the demands of society (a synonym of which was the state) and the working class (in the form of the communist party). Correspondingly, only the state, a labor collective and the family could be the principals of social control. Strongly condemned were the "limited approaches of bourgeois sociologists" who were interested in the mechanisms of norm formation and control in informal groups, as it was considered that only a structure could be a principal of control where "there is control, discipline and responsibility" [1, p 20], and an administration and its volunteer assistants: comrade courts, volunteer personnel departments, commissions for combating

drunkenness, worker honor councils and so forth [ibid.]. As incentives for normal behavior predominantly they envisaged negative sanctions, ideological pressure, public opinion formed on the principles of "reciprocal exactingness" [1, pp 13, 21; 2, pp 44-45].

These concepts reflected a part of social practice which was realized by the state institutions of control and was becoming ever-less effective in overcoming deviant behavior. The ineffectiveness of formal punitive-repressive control was particularly apparent in effecting deviant behavior of a passive type (drunkenness, drug addiction). A rigid, impersonal mechanism which possessed enormous inertia was capable only of increasing the social stratum of outsiders.

Our research on the alcoholic behavior of youth in Moscow Oblast (1988) showed that the consequences of the 1985 Ukase on Combating Drunkenness were not uniform: the young persons who possessed great social resources (a high level of education and a high social status of parents; successful studies providing prospects for social advancement; warm, understanding relations in the family) turned to alcohol later, in comparison with 1984, and used it significantly more rarely than before. But the "multiproblem" juveniles whose alcoholic habits previously had concerned educators did not begin to drink less and more rarely. On the contrary, among them there was a growing awareness of their own haplessness and alienation: "We have gotten together because we despise the fortunate."

The "stages of the great path" provided by the state institutions for the socializing and social control of such juveniles are predetermined. This is classifying in the caste of outcasts in school and after 8th grade the "culling" in the PTU [vocational-technical school], where the concentration of problem juveniles even more impedes the possibility of correction, and the most recalcitrant are sent to the special PTU which are more reminiscent of a juvenile corrective labor colony. The next infraction and the young person is sent to prison. And although the workers themselves at the inspectorates for juvenile affairs, the special PTU and the colonies assert that these measures have never rehabilitated anyone, nevertheless the system continues to crush the fate of the children [3; 4]. Some of the young persons do succeed in completing the vocational school without the prefix "special" and some return from the colony and try to adapt to surrounding life. However, only monotonous, low-skilled labor at obsolete enterprises remains for them. Certainly, the range of personal problems which they did not learn to handle in their youth are still with them: secrecy, aggressiveness, anxiety and the inability to adequately perceive oneself and others. Such persons prefer to escape from the complex situations of life with the aid of a means already known to them, alcohol. The enterprise management still applies punitive-repressive measures to them, such as the loss of bonuses, refusal to provide trips to sanatoriums or vacation homes, loss of place in line for obtaining housing,

forced treatment at LTP [?medical therapeutic center] and, finally, dismissal. This range of "educational actions" reinforces the social isolation of a person and breaks the already weak ties which link him to significant others.

It is the general opinion and primarily among those who have become the victim of criminals or who have suffered from the alcoholic (drug) addictions of their close ones, that repressive measures should be supported. But among the specialists there is a growing conviction as to the ineffectiveness of the current methods of combating deviant behavior [5]. Of the 150 experts questioned by us in Moscow Oblast (including pedagogues, lawyers, workers of the state institutions), only 30 percent supported a hardening of punishments (60 percent in 1984). The remainder proposed alternative measures aimed at prevention and social and psychological rehabilitation. While the punitive measures based on an authoritarian ideology corresponded to the motives in the activities of individuals involved in the state or state-sanctioned public institutions of control, the functionaries actively implemented repressive ideas. Now we are recording increased dissatisfaction with their activities among this category. The consequence of this dissatisfaction is either apathy, passivity or the formal performing of duties or the search for techniques oriented at the social rehabilitation of the outsiders. However, it is extremely difficult to implement alternative techniques within the existing state institutions as there is an inevitable conflict with the orders regulating activity. Thus, it took a good deal of effort for the patients of the Moscow LTP to be allowed to participate in meetings of the Alcoholics Anonymous groups.

The conflict between the imposed role and the moral notions of the functionaries provides a hope that the punitive-repressive mechanism will gradually be transformed from within [6]. But for such a transformation there must be not only a change of ideas, there must be professional training, a knowledge of the techniques of social rehabilitation and prevention and there must be professional social workers. Various social formations have endeavored to compensate for their absence and these formations have appeared over the last 2 years due to the political and legal differentiation between state and society. The "second thaw" has demonstrated a phenomenon of the informal movements. In the motley and noisy flood of political, cultural and ecological associations, there also arose social assistance groups for the outsiders and these represent an alternative and not an opposition to the existing formations: more often it is a choice of parallel structures.

In a study of this phenomenon, there are effective concepts which view the primary groups as agents of social control. In American sociology, such associations

are called borderline organizations [7; 8]. Even an individual with deviant behavior usually endeavors to maintain membership in a group. Collective sanctions control his conduct, although in the group they more rarely employ strong methods of pressure. The "borderline organizations" carry out psychotherapeutic functions even when psychotherapy is not the main aim of their activity. A person can now get by without those who previously rejected him and assume a high position in the new group. This experience subsequently allows him to take on customary age, sexual and status roles and join the broader community.

Just what does this informal movement in support of the outsiders represent and what future can it expect? Are these formations capable of eliminating the contradiction between man's need to organize his own activity in life and the dependence of the latter upon authoritarian institutions? The problems of outsiders are not only the search for "groups of peers" but also the material difficulties, the need for treatment, social rehabilitation and legal defense. Can social formations carry out the designated functions? The research material for the search to answers to these questions is limited and it includes the program documents of the groups (manifestos, leaflets and bylaws) as well as our own personal observations. Certainly the typology of the movements can be approximate. On the basis of the program and current documents of the support groups for outsiders, we have established four directions taking as the criterion the degree of autonomy from the state structures.

In the **first** are self-help groups which consist of former alcoholics, drug addicts and persons who have served time in prison. Here the most influential is the Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) movement and which has taken on the traditions of the international movement of the same name. At present, in Moscow there are about ten groups conducting active missionary activities in other cities of the nation. It is rather difficult to say anything definite about their numbers, degree of stability or social composition. From personal observation their main contingent is made up of males who are representatives of the worker professions or the lumpenized stratum of workers in mental labor with great alcoholic experience but who have maintained their physical and intellectual health. The latter helps them reflect on their conduct as well as accept the spiritual values offered by the program. In these groups there are no regular (paid) co-workers or hierarchical structure of relations, and the rules provide for special procedures which prevent a monopoly of influence and power (the chairing of meetings in turn, the dispersion of organizational functions and so forth). In principle, they refuse material support from the state and charitable funds, but they do use rooms which are made available by the plant clubs, the sobriety society and the housing offices. If attempts at ideological pressure follow this, they prefer to get rid of the interference.

Within the self-help movement, artels, brigades and communes for joint work arise. These either are single

actions related to seasonal trades (trips to lumbering areas, collecting of medicinal grasses and so forth) or permanent employment in agriculture. As of now we know only of one agricultural artel under the Oasis Group in Leningrad.

Alcoholics Anonymous do not enter into civil law relations with state and public organizations, they do not have recourse to paid services of specialists and do not provide material support for their members. Their viability depends basically upon their own activeness. The authorities and public opinion consider AA favorably but this cannot be said about the self-help groups for drug addicts. The latter, as a rule, do not advertise their activities due to the greater alienation of addicts from society and the criminal nature of the environment in which they are. Nevertheless, in Moscow there has appeared the Transnational Radical Party of Antiprohibitionists. At present, this party has around 300 members, basically young persons. They favor the legalizing of the drug trade, assuming that this will reduce the criminal element, destroy the economic base of the Mafia, and protect the addicts from the harshness of the Soviet penitentiary system. Here the social rehabilitation of the drug addicts is of a sporadic nature: those who have gotten free of their addiction to drugs gain the skills of living in society due to political activity and not due to special psychotherapeutic programs.

The **second** area is the groups which have an organizational structure and the status of a legal entity. These are set up most often under charitable funds and societies. The most active is the Social Center for Assisting in Humanizing the Penitentiary System in the USSR (in the past, the Group Prison and Freedom). Its nucleus is made up of veterans of the human rights movement. The Social Center has Bylaws, a managerial structure (a leader, deputy, project leaders and over 20 hired co-workers). Activities are financed by cooperatives and private individuals and in part by the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind with the center being part of this. A significant portion of the work is done by volunteers (30 persons) without any payment. The Social Center carries out the following programs: "Creating a Service for Aiding Prisoners," "The Subculture of Prisoners and the Problem of Humanizing the Penitentiary System in the USSR," "Alternative Punishments," "Protection of the Personality and Life of the Prisoner," "Humanization of Institutions for Juvenile Lawbreakers," "The Protection of Maternity and Infancy in Places of Incarceration" and "Protection of Condemned Business People (Entrepreneurs) in the USSR." The Center provides material, legal and medical aid to prisoners and attracts volunteers for corresponding with them. The Center's research work is oriented at analyzing the activities of the corrective institutions in the nation and the results are turned over to the mass information media, the deputies and the law enforcement bodies.

The "Egos" group for assisting alcoholics and drug addicts in Moscow is sponsored by a charity fund, the

groups Optimist in Leningrad and Trust in Kurgan by the Sobriety Society. The programs are carried out by professional psychologists and psychiatrists. They are based upon different ideological and philosophical concepts. Those which draw on Western experience give more attention to propagandizing common human values in the context of the Christian tradition (the patients of the Soviet-American Center for the Combating of Alcoholism). Other focus attention of their members on instilling strength of will and the cognitive aspects of the alcohol problem (the former patients of Dr A.G. Shichko and his students). In the last groups the influence of the leader is strong. Specialists have debated the method of A.G. Shichko, however group support and the desire to create their own living environment have an indisputable psychotherapeutic affect. Like AA, these clubs endeavor to maintain contacts among their members, they conduct missionary activity and publish propaganda literature [9].

A majority of the groups united around psychotherapeutic programs hold the opposite position, striving for independence, on the one hand, and endeavoring to "find a roof" or be taken over by an influential social or state organization, on the other. The presence of a "roof" would provide an opportunity to pay for the services of professionals, to keep paid co-workers, to organize shelters for the homeless and drug addicts and obtain financial support. But here there is the danger of bureaucratization and growing control by the state. One such official organization is the Society for Saving Children From Alcohol and Drugs established in April 1989. It is supported by sponsors, the mass information media and the state. It has proposed opening confidential consultation points, rehabilitation centers, rehabilitation camps for children from the risk groups as well as a hot line. As for now it is still too early to speak about the practical results of the work done by this society. However, its activities show that punitive-repressive ideas are giving way to alternative methods for overcoming the alienation of the outsiders from society.

The **third** direction is the charitable activities of the church. For now the priests have limited themselves to soul-saving talks with alcoholics and drug addicts in the hospitals or in circles under the church. In order to establish shelters, community groups and artels, quarters are needed as well as permission to use land and participate in economic activity. If one considers the growing interest in religion, such activities can find supporters and become very effective.

In the **fourth** area of the social movement in support of outsiders, one can put the activities of specialists who endeavor to establish alternative help programs inside the existing state institutions. Among them are physicians, sociologists and psychologists. They have set two goals for themselves: to make their activities more reasonable and meaningful and to provide society with models for reorganizing its institutions. These persons work in the centers for the rehabilitation of the Afghan War veterans, the narcological treatment centers and the

juvenile corrective facilities. The enthusiasts who decide upon nontraditional forms of activity within the state institutions often come into conflict with their own superiors. And when the leader himself becomes the initiator of innovations, there is inevitable conflict with that portion of the collective which is unable to surmount its own incompetence and aggressiveness. The press has frequently described the active resistance of a foot-dragging majority to the leaders of schools, clubs and colonies which endeavor to humanize the work of these institutions.

A repressive orientation by the state institutions controlling deviant conduct has also been criticized by the liberal intelligentsia. But opposite attitudes are also arising in society and groups have appeared such as the Fight Against Evil which are dissatisfied with the liberal, in their opinion, attitude of the authorities toward hippies, alcoholics and drug addicts, homeless and prostitutes. These are the Lyubertsy from the Moscow area, the Active Actions Detachment from Leningrad, the Orenburg Nishtyaki and others. Their activities include extremist propaganda actions against the "Jew-Masons" who supposedly have turned the Russian people into drunkards and even the assaulting of those who seem suspicious to the "fighters." On the basis of such groups, organized criminal bands have arisen [10, pp 166-167; 11, pp 196-201]. Here there are no attempts to create anything original and creative for an alternative lifestyle. A low cultural level and aggressiveness stimulated by an inferiority complex prevent the members of these groups from offering society any new plans for solving the problems which they seek to overcome.

The alternative movements in support of the outsiders are a component element in the general social activeness which returns sovereignty to man over his life. Within the framework of implementing the psychotherapeutic, social and economic programs, it becomes possible to test out alternative solutions to the hard-to-recognize and diverse problems of defiant conduct. They provide an opportunity for a person to find new degrees of freedom, to work out new models of conduct, roles and ideas without the risk of an immediate sanction for violating the prescriptions of official ideology. There is one other positive result in the appearance of the alternative movements and this is the practical infeasibility of total social control over the group and individual and which was our reality in the preceding decades.

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Muscovites on Elections

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[Article by Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Demidov, candidate of philosophical sciences and head of the Sector for Studying Public Opinion of Muscovites of the Sociology Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The elections of people's deputies to the republic and local soviets have concluded. Now the bodies of legislative power have been reorganized from top to bottom on a fundamentally new basis. Certain results can be given. In the given article, an analysis of the political situation has been made from the viewpoint of two previous election campaigns and the results of studying public opinion among the Moscow residents and these were obtained in the course of regular polls of the capital's population over the last 18 months. In particular, let us examine in greater detail how the state of public opinion influenced voter behavior in the choice of the elections, and for this we must ascertain, in the first place, the general background of the election fight or, in other words, voter opinion on urgent problems of the sociopolitical and economic life of the nation. Secondly, the attitude of the public to the electoral system,

thirdly, assessments of the organization and execution of the election campaign, and finally, and fourthly, voter preferences on the candidates for people's deputies.

The election campaign began to get underway at the end of the fourth year of perestroika, some 6 months after the 19th All-Union Party Conference and on which public opinion placed great hopes for improving the state of affairs in all spheres of our life. They had just adopted the amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution as well as the new Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies. During this period after the excitement which accompanied the preparations for the party forum, there was a definite drop in the public mood and again skeptical notes could be clearly heard. This was manifested above all in the attitude toward the party. While prior to the conference more than 1/2 of those questioned assumed that the authority and influence of the CPSU in society were rising, around 1/5 voiced the opinion that there would not be any changes and only 3 percent assumed that over the long run party authority and influence should decline, while the cross-section of public opinion after the concluding of the 19th Party Conference provided a completely different picture. Only 23 percent of those questioned pointed to increased authority and influence of the party, while 37 percent stated that the situation had not changed at all and 17 percent of the respondents spoke directly about a decline in CPSU authority. (We would point out, incidentally, that a year later, in the summer of 1989, 70 percent of those questioned now pointed to a decline in confidence in the CPSU.)

The Muscovites also took a very skeptical attitude toward amendments in the USSR Constitution concerning the electoral system. In December 1989, only 18 percent of those polled felt that the adopted laws to a significant degree would contribute to the development of democracy in the nation. Such skepticism was fully explainable since over a protracted historical period we have adopted a multiplicity of good laws, decrees and decisions which were later emasculated in the course of their practical implementation by the executive bodies which concentrated real political and economic power in their hands. In particular, doubt was voiced over the procedure for electing 1/3 of the people's deputies from the public organizations, the procedure for proposing and registering candidate deputies, the antidemocratic practice of preelection district meetings which steadily filtered out declared candidates to the benefit of the partocracy. All of this could not help but tell on the state of public opinion and the attitude of the population to the adopted election laws.

The negative views in the minds of the people were intensified by the slipping of the economic reform. According to the same poll, just 6 percent of the respondents felt that the state of the national economy was satisfactory while around 70 percent was critical. The problems of interethnic relations began to cause ever-greater fears. Only Soviet foreign policy and domestic democratization were viewed affirmatively, however

even here 55 percent of those questioned expressed satisfaction with what had been achieved.

The listed processes in mass conscience occurred against the background of its further politization, greater activity of the broad strata and groups of the public, the developing independent movement and the flourishing of street democracy. It is no surprise that under these conditions there was a sharp rise in the overall critical attitude which accompanied an assessment of the course of perestroika as a whole. Around 1/2 of those polled pointed out that their hopes tied to perestroika had not been realized, 37 percent said this had partially been realized and only 3 percent of the respondents had hopes that were fully realized.

Under these conditions, just what characterized the 1989 election campaign? First of all, there was voter activity which increased as voting day drew closer. Remaining in our memory were stormy voter district meetings which, as a rule, lasted far beyond midnight, televised and nontelevised debates of the candidates, official and independent posters and leaflets which praised certain candidates and were often inaccurate about others, pickets at subway stations and many other attributes of a real developing political struggle.

What candidate deputies did the Muscovites prefer? First of all, the voters focused on personality. For more than 1/2 of those polled, the main thing was human and professional qualities in the candidate and not his position, profession or even belonging to one or another sociopolitical organization. Among the personal qualities in first place were put honesty, decency and a feeling of social justice. Such preferences of course were manifested due to the stereotype which has formed in mass conscience of the corrupted representative of power, the bureaucrat, concerned solely with his own problems, worried about his personal privileges and violating social justice. In addition, an absence of a developed political structure in society was felt and this did not make it possible for the voter to focus on the membership of the candidate in one or another political organization. Party membership was not a factor which determined voter choice. But there was the other factor that belonging to the party apparatus immediately reduced the candidate's chances. The most popular with the Muscovites were representatives of the creative intelligentsia, including journalists, scientists and writers. In second place came workers followed by economic leaders.

In preparing to vote, the voters most often focused on the candidate's election program and more precisely on his position and attitude toward urgent problems. These possibly were not so apparent in the text of the program as they were in the entire flow of information which the candidate was able to get across to the voter. Incidentally, in 1989, the voters obtained the basic mass of information needed by them from the mass information media, followed by pamphlets and election posters and to a lesser degree from the personal speeches of the candidate deputies.

What did the Muscovites not like in the preparations for last year's elections? Above we have spoken about the shortcomings of the legislation apparent in the stage of discussing the draft Election Law. These views (the district meetings, the elections in public organizations and the procedure for putting up candidates) continued to cause dissatisfaction in the course of the election campaign itself. People expressed greatest dissatisfaction over the unequal status of the candidates (having in mind primarily the material and technical opportunities to conduct an election campaign) as well as the creating of beneficial conditions by the authorities for some and obstacles for others who were "not to the liking" of the party apparatus for various reasons. In addition, the persons questioned by us pointed to the discourtesy in conducting the election campaign and the use of prohibited methods, primarily attempts to compromise the opponent.

Regardless of the listed shortcomings recorded by mass conscience, as a whole, around 80 percent of the Muscovites was satisfied with the 1989 election results as persons having real authority among the people and who are active supporters of perestroika became deputies.

The First Congress of USSR People's Deputies which followed the elections for the first time in our history demonstrated real political pluralism in the superior bodies of the nation. The critical and sharp judgments heard from such a high rostrum simply shocked many. In any event, virtually no one was indifferent. From the obtained data, 96-98 percent of the Muscovites followed the entire work of the congress and a large portion did this regularly.

The respondents also judged the democraticness of the congress work very high. As for the assessments of the success of the congress's work, here our polls showed significant fluctuations depending upon the events occurring at the congress. From 24 percent to 36 percent of the Muscovites on one or another day pointed out that the congress was going much more successfully than they had expected.

The public polls conducted a day later clearly recorded both the increased expectations and a certain disappointment with the results of the congress. While prior to its start, some 3/5 of the Muscovites assumed that the work of the deputies would be successful and effective, after the conclusion only a third of those polled gave such a view.

The First Congress of People's Deputies accelerated the development of political processes in the nation and activated mass conscience. The escaped genie of pluralism caused a reassessment of existing notions and stereotypes. This has begun to be apparent in the views of not only history but also the modern political system. In July 1989, over 1/2 of the Muscovites uniformly favored the repeal of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. The attitude toward a multiparty system became more

tolerant, although the dominant view in social conscience in that period was that in and of itself a multi-party system does not determine the level of democracy in the nation. Possible factions in the Congress and in the party itself began to seem acceptable although the opinion still prevailed that it was better to maintain unity.

Some 10-13 percent of the Muscovites questioned by us during that period were firm supporters of maintaining the principles of the former political system, around 25 percent favored insignificant changes in maintaining the underlying principles of the former system, 10-15 percent were unable to voice their position while around 50 percent favored substantial changes in the sphere of sociopolitical relations.

If one speaks about individual sociodemographic groups, the more critical and radical judgments were voiced by the ITR [engineer and technical personnel] and (to a somewhat lesser degree) by representatives of the intelligentsia not employed in production (physicians, teachers, scientists and journalists), more moderate by workers as well as employees of state institutions. In the age groups standing out is the middle generation of 30-45-year-olds who were most critical of the situation and maintained more radical judgments on many questions even in comparison with the youth. In terms of educational level, one can trace a clearly expressed linear dependence: the higher the education, the more critical assessments and radical judgments.

Among the events which had a noticeable impact on the state of mass political conscience during the period between the 1989 and 1990 electoral campaigns, one must also mention the wave of strikes which swept the nation in the summer of 1989 and the regular outbursts at the centers of interethnic conflicts. The attitude of the Muscovites to strikes was complex: of course, they are undesirable and cause great harm but sometimes they are admissible and even necessary. In one way or another, in being superimposed on the increasing problems and difficulties in the economic sphere, the wave of strikes heightened the critical attitudes in society. There was a clearly voiced demand for more decisive changes, however there was no unanimity over the question of precisely what changes were required. For example, on the question of introducing a ration system for supply, the opinions of the Muscovites were split virtually equally. The supporters and opponents of market relations also were evenly split.

In addition to the economic problems related to the public's notions primarily of the supply of vital necessities and which for the last 2 years has been in first place in terms of importance in the course of our polls, with the start of autumn the problem of combating crime emerged in second place in terms of importance in the public conscience, in bypassing the problem of protecting the environment. Interethnic relations in the capital itself did not greatly bother the Muscovites although 1/3 of our respondents still noticed their exacerbation in Moscow as well.

The absence of real headway in resolving the listed problems very noticeably reduced the credit of trust in the measures of the superior authorities and the policy of perestroika as a whole. The obtained data concerning public opinion showed that the expectations of a majority of those polled were not being met and as a whole the situation in the nation was deteriorating. A further decline in the authority of the CPSU and its leading bodies was also recorded.

In analyzing the state of mass conscience in that period, one cannot help but mention the growing independent movement and the appearance of alternative political structures in the form of associations, platforms and actually parties. This led as a result to the formation of electoral blocs in the 1990 elections. While in 1989, the numerous "informal" organizations did not represent a real political force and a majority of the Muscovites did not see them as real claimants to power, after the First Congress of People's Deputies, the situation began to change. A major role was played by the establishing of the Interregional Deputy Group (MDG) and around this the alternative political structures began to gather. At the end of 1989, our poll showed that the activities of the MDG were approved basically by 57 percent of the Muscovites. The results of the past elections to the Moscow Soviet and the RSFSR from Moscow showed that this support from the public has increased.

Along with the listed trends, we cannot help but mention one other, rather contradictory trend in mass conscience, and which rather strongly influenced voter behavior in the course of the 1990 elections. We said that a pluralism of opinions, a boldness of judgments and vivid speeches at the first congress were welcomed by the public, however over time the street democracy began to cause irritation. This trend was apparent with particular strength after the Second Congress of People's Deputies which caused dissatisfaction among a significant portion of the public precisely due to the lack of decisions on the most important questions of the state structure, property and so forth.

Precisely this determined, in our view, the mood with which the voters entered the 1990 election campaign. Even 3 months prior to the elections, the mass information media began to note a certain decline in voter activeness in comparison with the previous year, although interest in the coming elections was quite high: over 70 percent of those polled pointed out that they were concerned who would be elected as members of the republic and local soviets. During that period around 74 percent of the Muscovites intended to vote on 4 March. However, at the end of January and the beginning of February 1990, we recorded a decline in the given indicator by 10 percent. However, in our view, this showed not so much a drop in the activeness of the

Muscovites as a response to a number of questions which arose in the course of the election campaign.

As a result, the Law on Elections to the Republic and Local Soviets was positively received. There was satisfaction, first of all, with the abandoning of the district meetings and the election of deputies by public organizations. However, the very procedure and organization of the elections undoubtedly influenced the fact that on 4 March a significantly smaller number of Muscovites went to the voter urns than in the previous spring. The electing of deputies all at once to three levels of soviets in four voter districts, the necessity of making one's way through 20 or 30 names of candidates of course could not help but lead to confusion among a portion of the voters and a refusal to vote generally, as a sort of defensive response. Moreover, the distribution of information about the candidates was extremely poorly organized. Even official election posters appeared in Moscow in a majority of the districts only 2 weeks prior to the elections. In this sense the provision of the law on observing the equality of candidates in utilizing material for the election campaign did poor service. The candidates were fettered in their actions, looking hopefully at the district commissions which were unable to promptly get the necessary information to the public. According to our data, a predominant majority of the voters a month prior to the elections did not know a single one of their candidates to all levels of the soviets.

Thus, while in the course of the 1989 campaign, there was a tendency for growing voter activity among the public and a focus on participation in voting as election day drew near, in the spring of 1990, the trend was the reverse.

The preference of the Muscovites on their candidate people's deputies as a whole was the same as in the spring of 1989, however the criteria of the social justice, honesty and incorruptibility of the candidate, in remaining extremely high for the voters, moved to second place, giving way to competence. It is no accident that lawyers were given the highest rating among all professions. Undoubtedly, the voters were led to this by observing the work of the USSR people's deputies.

The demands of competence, a knowledge of the laws and professional political skills which the voters placed on the deputies reflect the current level of our experience in parliamentary activities. In the future, we feel, precisely civil, political and moral positions will again emerge in the forefront among the demands made on the deputies, since professionalism is required primarily for experts. In any event, no competent deputy can possess professional knowledge on all discussed questions. There is no need for this.

What else influenced the choice of the Muscovites? An important factor was the place of residence of the candidate. Around 70 percent of the Moscow voters preferred to see a deputy residing in their rayon. And this applied not only to the elections to the rayon soviet but

also to the Moscow Soviet and even the Russian Parliament. As a result, 80 percent of the elected deputies of the Moscow Soviet reside in the region where they ran. Party affiliation of the candidates, as before, did not have great importance for the voters, however in comparison with the 1989 elections, there was a tendency to prefer nonparty persons. This also was reflected in the voting results: 58 percent of the communists was elected to the Moscow Soviet and this was $\frac{1}{4}$ less in comparison with the make-up of the USSR people's deputies.

The people preferred candidates whom they knew better, as they say, recognizing their face. This was the case if the candidate was not a resident but at least worked in the rayon. The voters also preferred to be personally acquainted with the candidate, either in meetings or at least in TV debates. Newspaper articles or even pamphlets had significantly less effect since the people did not trust the impartiality of the press. Male candidates were preferred over female. The voters focused rather strongly on the support of workers but due to the fact that extremely few of them were running, the share of this social group in the make-up of the new soviets was small.

The appearance of preelection blocs, a sort of prototype of political parties of the parliamentary type became one other important and new aspect in the 1990 election campaign in comparison with the spring of last year. These were primarily Democratic Russia and the bloc of Sociopatriotic Movements of Russia. While at the outset the Muscovites did not pay particular attention to the belonging of the candidates to one or another official or unofficial political organization, after Democratic Russia published voter rolls the situation changed. The belonging to one or another bloc began to determine voter choice. The chances of independent candidates declined significantly.

The satisfaction of the Muscovites with the election results of the people's deputies was substantially lower than in the spring of 1989. Around 45 percent of those questioned stated that they were rather satisfied and almost the same number, some 40 percent, said that they were rather dissatisfied with the voting results. What was the reason for this? In our view, there were several of them. In the first place, the overall dissatisfaction with the organization of the election campaign and this dissatisfaction to one degree or another was expressed by a predominant majority of our respondents and was also partially transferred to the voting results. Secondly, the polarizing of the political forces naturally led to a polarizing of evaluations with some candidates being victors and others not. Thirdly, while in 1989, the very opportunity of a real choice caused satisfaction, now this was not enough. Demands also increased on both the candidates and the election system. Finally, and fourthly, there was also a general strengthening of critical attitudes in society. For this reason, the assessment of the voting results seems natural to us and not so low.

In one way or another the current political structure in society is transitional, unformed and rapidly changing. The processes in mass conscience correspond to such a situation. In concluding an analysis of the political situation based on the results of studying the public opinion of Muscovites over the last 18 months, we would like to point out the basic aspects of these processes.

The activating of public conscience is continuing. In recent months, this has assumed a qualitatively different character. While initially one observed basically a rise in the activeness of the various strata and groups in the public and the involvement of people in politics, at present there is not merely the politicizing of conscience but also the mass defining of one's positions and the polarizing of political views.

The present period in the development of society is also characterized by a radicalizing of the attitudes of people. At present, public opinion, as a rule, is ahead of those reforms which the authorities are carrying out. A majority of the Muscovites questioned by us expressed a demand for radical changes in all the life of the nation. This trend partially determines political sympathies, too.

The contradictions between the expectations of the public and their realization intensify the critical mood. People no longer want to accept many fewer shortcomings in comparison with those they tolerated previously. A manifestation of this is, for example, the loss of trust in a majority of the official and unofficial political institutions.

One other trend in the mass conscience at present is its growing mysticalness and the appearance of this we are encountering everywhere. This involves both a belief in miracles, flying saucers, the growing influence of various prophets, including psychotherapists, and much else.

Finally, and most importantly, one observes a democratizing of social conscience and this slowly is accepting democratic principles and models of political behavior. This is manifested primarily in a definite change in the attitude toward a pluralism of opinions, a multiparty system, the rights of the majority and opposition and informal structures. At the same time, for now this process is just beginning. The transition from the old totalitarian thinking will be rather complex and painful. In mass conscience we are still clearly recording views of rigid control and regulation of social life, intolerance of other opinions and leveling attitudes.

An important aspect which characterizes the state of social conscience is its particular emotional background. In the current political situation, political moods and emotions play a very marked role. If we turn again to the previous election campaign, we cannot help but point out that precisely emotions often determined voter attitudes to a candidate and correspondingly influenced the voting results. Public moods are currently very mobile and unstable and the clearest indications characterizing the emotional state of mass conscience are the appearance of anxiety and hope as well as abrupt shifts from one to the

other. These are the basic traits of mass conscience established as a result of a systematic study of public opinion among the Moscow inhabitants in 1988-1990.

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Problems of Data Interpretation of International Comparative Research

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[Article by Lyudmila Andreyevna Semenova, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published her article "On Methodological Principles of Researching Social Conflict in American Sociology" (No 2, 1975)]

[Text] Carrying out comparative sociological research (both interregional or interval within one country as well as international) poses a number of problems. One of the most important is the comparability of the obtained data. As has already been pointed out [1-5], this is achieved primarily by the identicalness of the samplings, the methods of collecting the data and the methods of processing them. Thus, in organizing and carrying out any type of comparative research it is essential from the outset to ensure comparability of the obtained results using objective indicators: sex, age, education, social status and income level. The problems of this level are resolved in the stage of preparing for and carrying out the sociological research (including the "repair of the sample" and, if need be, the "reweighing" of the data).

The second group of problems is related to the analysis and interpretation of the results. Here the problem arises acutely of comparability in terms of subjective indicators. By the latter we understand data of an evaluation sort concerning satisfaction with one or another aspect of life (work, family, material status, activities of various organizations and so forth), and opinions on a whole range of problems, including the assessments of diverse social processes.

Unfortunately, in a large portion of the publications the sociological data still are of a descriptive nature with individual elements of analysis. Moreover, when the results of one research study are not compared with others, at first glance, the picture is clear, uniform and does not cause difficulties in interpretation. However, an analysis of the same data in comparison with other data obtained by an analogous method but in a different region or nation (in observing the corresponding demands of identical sampling and methods) forces one to doubt the seeming simplicity of possible interpretations and examine more profoundly the obtained results. This applies particularly to the subjective indicators. Using the example of several international comparative studies, let us endeavor to sketch in the range of problems.

Soviet and American Children: Militant or Peace-Loving?

Let us turn to a Soviet-American study (in the autumn of 1986) on the opinions of juveniles in the USSR and United States concerning nuclear weapons, the arms race, Soviet-American relations and so forth [6]. Here we would like to draw reader attention not only to the content of the replies but also to the nature of their distribution. Clearly, the idea of parity between the USSR and United States for nuclear weapons has greater support among Soviet schoolchildren (60 percent) than among Americans (42 percent) (Table 1).

Table 1: Degree of Agreement With Statement "USSR and United States should have the same nuclear might," %

Country	Disagree	Rather Disagree Than Agree	Hard to Say	Rather Agree Than Disagree	Agree
U.S.A.	25	10	23	14	28
USSR	13.5	4	23	8	52

A somewhat different picture emerges when it is a question not of nuclear might but rather military might generally. The degree of agreement was being studied for the statement "the USSR does not need to have greater military might than the United States" and this was the wording for the Soviet questionnaire; for the American it was "the United States should not have greater military force than the USSR." In both countries, those polled preferred nuclear parity. Consequently, it can be assumed that they would not insist on the necessity of military superiority of their state. But our hypothesis was not confirmed for more than 1/2 of the children in the USSR and United States did not agree with the stated opinion and actually sought military superiority of their country (Table 2).

Table 2: Degree of Agreement With the Statement "The USSR (U.S.A.) does not need to have greater military strength than the United States (USSR)," %

Country	Disagree	Rather Disagree Than Agree	Hard to Say	Rather Agree Than Disagree	Agree
U.S.A.	41	18	16	13	12
USSR	50	13	23	4	10

While the Soviet children favored nuclear parity more often than did the American, on the question of military superiority generally they were more "militant." For example, among them 14 percent agreed that the Soviet Union should not surpass the United States in military terms. Among the Americans almost double the number (25 percent) felt that their nation did not need superiority.

Finally, of interest for comparison are the replies to the question which is logically related with the previous ones in terms of the problem raised and where it is an issue

not of the balance of military forces of the USSR and U.S.A., but rather the balance of military potential of their country with the military potential of any other. The question for the Soviet juveniles was "the USSR should have significantly greater military force than any other country"; for the Americans "the United States should have significantly greater military force than any other country." We would point out that the number of completely agreed with the stated theses was virtually the same in both countries, but with this the comparisons ended (Table 3).

Table 3: Degree of Agreement With Statement "The USSR (U.S.A.) Should Have Significantly Greater Military Strength Than Any Other Country," %

Country	Disagree	Rather Disagree Than Agree	Hard to Say	Rather Agree Than Disagree	Agree
U.S.A.	21	16	21.5	20	22
USSR	32	7	32	6	23

It is possible to speak of the greater "militancy" of the American children since 42 percent of them to one degree or another share the opinion of the need for U.S. military superiority. The Soviet schoolchildren (29 percent) more rarely insisted on such a status for their country; in their majority they completely did not share the idea of military superiority (32 percent against 21 percent for the Americans).

What can be said about this? First of all, the obtained replies are important not so much from the viewpoint of the agreement or disagreement of the respondents with the proposed subjects as they are as indicators of certain social characteristics, in our instance the "militancy—peacefulness" of the children. It is also apparent that the listed subjects due to their thematic closeness should be viewed not individually but as a complex, complementing one another. However, we have reached the conclusion that the answers to questions which are similar in content do not "rank themselves" in a logical chain and it is possible to draw conclusions on the "peacefulness" of "militancy" of the schoolchildren only very hypothetically due to the contradictoriness of the judgments. In the given case it would be wise to construct a complex indicator or, for example, an index of "peacefulness" which would take into account the contradictions. Finally, precisely the comparative nature of the research made it possible to detect the contradictions and caution against hurried conclusions.

An analysis of the results makes it possible to draw a series of assumptions relative to the recorded differences. Possibly the children reason that since we will be equal in terms of nuclear weapons, then my country should be stronger in military terms. We do not know what the juveniles conceive of in the concepts of "nuclear weapons," "nuclear might," "military strength," "military might." Possibly for the children these are two different realities and they behave differently.

Sociologist and Respondent: Problems and Mutual Understanding

Here we have approached an important problem of the understanding of the questionnaire language by the respondents as well as the mutual understanding between researcher and respondent [5]. In our case this is actualized by the fact that, in the first place, it is a question of an international project and, consequently, persons are being questioned who have been raised in different social systems and have grown up in different sociocultural environments. Secondly, it is a question of juvenile schoolchildren with little social experience, a low educational level, little information and competence and this makes them more exposed to the influence of ideological stereotypes. Thirdly, in addition to those already mentioned in the questionnaire they could encounter concepts which could cause difficulties: probability, overpopulation, nuclear and biological destruction of mankind, victim of crime, asylum and so forth. The problem of the incomplete understanding by respondents of such seemingly simple and generally used words is not farfetched. As a procedural experiment conducted by L.A. Koklyagina showed, in a majority of the secondary school graduates questioned in Kurgan Oblast (N=1,870 persons), the following words and phrases caused the greatest semantic difficulties: microcalculator, vocational consultation, sex, prestige, humanitarian, morality, technology, communication, subjects of art, natural sciences and artistic abilities [ibid., pp 62-77].

An analysis of the results of a procedural sociological experiment leads to important conclusions on the comprehension of the questionnaire language by the respondents and this must be taken into account in organizing the research. First of all, this concerns the interpretation of the answers to the questions formulated with the use of foreign-origin words which on the level of ordinary awareness have assumed a judgment sense with a negative cast. The second conclusion raises the aspect of the knowledge of a word and its recognition in the text. Often a respondent, in knowing the meaning of words and phrases found in ordinary speech, does not understand them in an unfamiliar context. Finally, the presently observed process of the enrichment of daily language with certain terms borrowed from sociology (as a consequence of the development of this science accompanied by the corresponding publications in the press, and by the presentation of poll results over radio and television) as well as the use of ordinary speech by sociology are fraught with the problem that the researcher and the respondent can invest a completely different meaning in the same term.

Recently, in the periodical press and on the pages of special publications, more and more frequently they have discussed the impoverishment of the Russian lan-

guage and the transformation of it into a means of utilitarian communication. As N. Velekhova has written, "language over the years of Stalinism lost as much as man lost" [7], for several generations of Soviet people were deprived of an opportunity to become acquainted with the "refined literature" of the Russian writers and poets from the beginning of the century as well as those who had emigrated from the Soviet Union or were declared to be "enemies of the people." Russian philosophical literature at the turn of the century and the beginning of the 20th Century as well as all religious literature were declared to be an "idealistic vestige." The repressions of the Stalinist times drove compassion and the nuance of feeling and experience out of life and the concepts designating these also disappeared from the vocabulary of the Russian language due to irrelevance. One of the consequences of the impoverishment of the language has been a drop in the level of its mastery and as a result modern youth not only abuses itself in foul language but also converses in it [ibid.].

The problem of the mutual understanding of the researcher and respondent is also pertinent to any sociological poll, particularly when it is necessary to translate the question sheets into a different language, for a number of difficulties arises in the translation. As a whole, "...in order that the respondents correctly understand the questions and the sociologist there replies, a knowledge of the researcher's ideas relative to the cognitive and expressive (semantic) abilities of the persons being questioned is crucial" [5, p 115].

The Normative Setting of Answers

A respondent naturally passes the questions "through himself," that is, he correlates them to his own experience, knowledge and standards which at times are unconscious and which he is guided by in life. The ideal (in the sense of nonmaterial) normative models which exist in the awareness of an individual are constructed primarily under the influence of the sociocultural features of the micro- and macrosphere of his environment. Consideration of this given area is extremely important in an analysis and interpretation of international research, when one is comparing answers from the representatives of completely different socioeconomic systems, cultures and ways of life. Without a knowledge and consideration of the realities of daily life, an adequate interpretation and explanation are impossible.

A normative consideration, as an awareness of what is due, to a significant degree was apparent, in our view, in the answers of Soviet children to the questions of the already-mentioned Soviet-American research and, in particular, in the fact that many answers were "skewed" along the scale toward the extreme ends (agree—disagree; of course yes, of course no, and so forth), while

the answers of the American juveniles were distributed more or less evenly. This was particularly apparent in a five-point scale.

The phenomenon of a normative sense of duty was also apparent in the answers of Soviet schoolchildren to the

question of their concern over various problems (as a total 19 were given in the questionnaire) [6, p 42]. Table 4 shows the distribution of respondent opinions only for four problems, however the stated trend—greater concern among the Soviet children—was shown for all mentioned in the questionnaire.

Table 4: Distribution of Answers to Question "How much are you concerned by the following problems?" %

Problems	Not at All		Little		Rather		Very	
	U.S.A.	USSR	U.S.A.	USSR	U.S.A.	USSR	U.S.A.	USSR
Natural disasters, including earthquakes	56	34	24	16	9	15	11	35
Divorce of parents	55	25	16	8	12	10	17	57
Poor grades	16	6	22	16	25	24	38	53
Possibility of drug addiction	59	39	11	4	7	8	22	49

From the discovered "superanxiety" of the Soviet juveniles, one could scarcely draw meaningful conclusions, for example, about the degree of urgency of various problems for our society (just take natural disasters and the poll was conducted in Rostov and Tambov Oblasts in 1986, that is, before the earthquake in Armenia. The children who fell into the sampling more often had not encountered natural disasters, let alone earthquakes, and they had a poor understanding of what this was and how significant it was). The value of such information lies in the proof of the existence of "abstract generally significant priorities and opinions" (along with the individual pragmatic [8, p 175]) and which can play a dominant role in the wording of the replies, distorting an objective picture of the opinions. In the given instance, the stereotype plays such a role to a significant degree in the replies of the Soviet schoolchildren as anxiety over negative phenomena is a socially approved standard.

As a whole, in our view, the level of normative awareness is largely determined by the type of thinking prevalent in society. As is known, psychologists have established two cognitive styles. The first is open, creative, flexible and divergent thinking and the second is closed, rigid, dogmatic and authoritarian. In characterizing the rigid type of thinking, I.S. Kon has pointed out that it combines in itself a deferential-noncritical attitude toward power and having once been assimilated from an authoritative source of information shows extreme impatience and hostility to anything which contradicts the customary scheme [9, pp 69-70]. Naturally, such a cognitive style, and it precisely has been dominant, at present is far from disappeared in our society (the so-called "new thinking" is an attempt to break out of the clutches of dogmatism and authoritarianism) which does not permit a pluralism of opinions gives rise to a correspondingly rigid type of normative level in an individual who argues from the principle "if one is good then two is bad." In the language of a sociological questionnaire this means that it is either "agree" or "disagree" or "yes" or "no" and no intermediate shading and this is what we discovered in the answers of Soviet juveniles. A "unidimensionality"

of their conscience was noted at one time by the American psychologist Uri Bronfenbrenner who in the 1960s studied oth graders from schools and boarding schools in four countries. "The Soviet children, in contrast to the Western," he wrote, "much more rarely encounter both in the family and outside it opposite viewpoints on diverse problems. As a consequence of this they develop a habit for a uniform reaction to one or another conflict situation" [10, p 56].

The complex structure of a normative view is also present in the phenomenon of a "bifurcation of the stereotype" [8, p 176]. The conscience is fixed on various points of reference—individual-pragmatic and normative-generally significant; an individual can judge the same phenomenon (including answering the questions of a sociologist) in spurning either of these [points of reference]. Consequently, in having a positive view of a certain value, he nevertheless will come out negatively, proceeding from the proper, the normatively approved and not from his own opinion. This syndrome is even more developed in international research when a respondent endeavors to answer so that he and his country appear "as good as possible."

One other aspect is related to the hierarchical structure of the norms themselves, since there are common human, state, regional, group, individual and other norms which form notions of "what is good and what is bad." For this reason, the evaluation, subjective judgments by the respondents on various social processes and phenomena must be correlated against the objective characteristics of the studied subject area. Let us refer to opinions concerning satisfaction with the work of the public health bodies in the USSR and in France as obtained in joint Soviet-French research.¹ Some 78 percent of the French (67 percent of the Parisians) were satisfied; 23 percent of the Muscovites and 33 percent of the inhabitants of the town of Inzhavino. The given figures scarcely prove a higher quality of public health in the rayon center of Inzhavino in comparison with Moscow. Rather in the views of the Muscovites and the residents of Inzhavino there are different points of reference and standards. It is quite probable that what

would satisfy the residents of Inzhavino would not satisfy the Muscovites (let alone the French). For this reason, for an adequate interpretation of the results of studying various aspects of the way of life, it is essential to have a careful correlation of the quantitative characteristics (objective indicators) with the qualitative characteristics of the conditions and forms of life of the individual (community) and with his perception of the realities of social life.

In international research one can also clearly see the existence of common human standards and above all an awareness of the global dangers threatening civilization: war, nuclear accidents, the disastrous state of the environment and drugs. The latter in the near future represents a danger for their countries. This is the opinion of 81 percent of the French, 76 percent of the Muscovites and 84 percent of the residents of Inzhavino. To an equal degree there was a recognized danger of accidents at nuclear power plants. Some 69 percent of the French, 69 percent of the Muscovites and 70 percent of the residents of Inzhavino—a surprising unanimity—pointed to the possibility of a repetition of Chernobyl-type tragedies. The respondents also unanimously recognized that a nuclear conflict could lead to the death of European civilization and this opinion was shared by 85 percent of the French (90 percent of the Parisians), 95 percent of the Muscovites and 89 percent of the inhabitants of Inzhavino; that any major war in Europe, even a nonnuclear war, could reduce it to ruins (70 percent of the French, 88 percent of the Muscovites and 82 percent of the inhabitants of Inzhavino).

However, the persons questioned in the two countries diverged in their views of the guarantees for the preservation of peace on the European continent. Here decisive were not common human standards and values but rather normative ideas of an ideological stripe to a significant degree shaped by the propaganda and defined by the particular features of the sociopolitical systems in the USSR and France. In the opinion of 1/2 of the French (among supporters of the rightist Le Pen National Front the figure was 68 percent), such a guarantee, in accord with the political doctrine of nuclear deterrence, is the presence of nuclear weapons in Europe. Among the Muscovites, a similar opinion was supported by 9 percent and by 11 percent among the Inzhavino residents. Along with the idea that "nuclear weapons are the guarantee for peace in Europe" 52 percent of the French shared the judgment of the build-up and modernization of French nuclear forces as a factor in the strengthening of peace on the continent (30 percent were against). The Soviet respondents categorically did not agree with this notion (90 percent of the Muscovites and 75 percent of the Inzhavino residents).

As a whole, a majority of the Soviet respondents (91 percent of the Muscovites and 74 percent of the Inzhavino residents) felt that there was no European problem which could not be resolved peacefully. In the French sample, this opinion was shared by 1/2 of those

questioned and one out of three did not share it. In addition, 72 percent of the French assumed that the USSR was threatening France with Soviet nuclear weapons (among the Muscovites 17 percent support this viewpoint and 11 percent among the residents of Inzhavino) while only 27 percent of them were confident that the Soviet Union would never use nuclear weapons first (Muscovites 95 percent and Inzhavino residents 90 percent). One out of three French agreed with the possibility of a Soviet first strike while 40 percent found it difficult to answer.

The given data show the contradictoriness of the judgments of the French over the problems of European security (with an observable "shift" of replies by the Soviet respondents toward the extreme ends of the scale). On the other hand, a large portion of the inhabitants of France than the USSR understands the lethality of the arms race for the European continent. On the other hand, 1/2 of the questioned French, in accord with the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and nuclear containment, views the presence of nuclear weapons in Europe as a condition for maintaining peace on the European continent.

Image and Stereotype of Perception

The new political thinking and the study of public opinion in various countries have caused one to speak about the destruction of the "image of the enemy" and get free of stereotypes. Here the notion of a "stereotype" is employed, as a rule, in a negative sense. In our view, there must be a more careful analysis of just what are the stereotypes of perception which are meant when relations are analyzed from the viewpoint of "we—they."

In the study of social stereotypes, frequently the social and psychological aspects of the phenomenon are confused and as a consequence of this uniformly negative views arise. We proceed from the understanding of stereotypization as a real psychological process of perception the result of which is a "oversimplified, schematized, emotionally tinted and extremely persistent image of a certain social group or community and this is easily extended to all its representatives" [11, p 95].

It is essential to distinguish stereotypization as a psychological process and stereotypization as a social phenomenon. In the former instance this is a process of social perception, one of the mechanisms of social cognition and it does not carry either a positive or negative value load for it performs a cognitive function of simplification and schematization. It is a different matter when it is a question of a stereotype as a social phenomenon, that is, as content. "...It would be a major confusion to see the determinant of the content aspect of stereotypes in

psychological and sociopsychological processes of stereotypization.... The determinants of the content aspect of the stereotypes are to be found in factors of a social and not a psychological order" [12, p 183]. And here it is already valid to assess social stereotypes as positive or negative, true or false, since the judgments characterize their content from the viewpoint of corresponding to objective reality.

At the same time, it is essential to point to the psychological phenomenon which is present in the process of stereotypization and which cannot help but be considered in studying the problems of the "we—they" perception. Its essence is that on any level of intergroup interaction there is a tendency to maximize the perceived difference between the groups and minimize the difference between members of one and the same group. Precisely this and not hostility or prejudice is the distinguishing feature of stereotypization [ibid., p 184].² Such a mechanism eases the manipulating of the views of members of groups coming into contact including also the creation of an "image of the enemy." In this context the question logically arises of the measure of truth and falsehood in social stereotypes as any content can be invested in their psychological "framework." Researchers have noted the insufficient elaboration of the problem. At the same time, the most widespread is the following viewpoint: regardless of the fact that social stereotypes simplify and schematize and sometimes distort reality, they always reflect something objective, being its more or less adequate image. "...The very reality studied by the sociologist is to a certain degree a result of the subjectivizing and objectivizing in social standards and stereotypes," whereby "the standards and role models are 'incorporated' in the stereotypes but now as that component which reflects the "proper" and "necessary" as well as the other institutional and societal characteristics" [8, pp 167, 168].

In our view, a good example of stereotypization in thinking by Soviet respondents would be the assessment of the importance of the unemployment problem for Finland.³ The correct answer to the question of the number of unemployed there was given by 10.5 percent, while the remainder either openly wrote "I do not know" (58 percent) or answered incorrectly. Obviously, the level of information of the Soviet people in the given instance is low. At the same time, 1/2 of the respondents felt that the unemployment problem (during the period of the poll its level was around 5 percent) was urgent for Finland. Here one could see the stereotype of the perception of a Western nation, since unemployment, to judge from the Soviet mass information media, is an inseparable trait of capitalism. The given stereotype can be viewed as true, for its content corresponds to objective reality. The problem of unemployment, according to the evidence of Finnish sociologists, was actually pressing at the moment of the poll.

International comparative research which has been carried out recently on the level of studying public opinion provides information how "their" notions are changing

about us and our notions about "them" under the influence of the changes occurring in the Soviet Union and including due to the development of glasnost and democratization. The activities of the Soviet mass information and propaganda media have changed greatly and to a significant degree they formed definite "images" of nations and peoples. But we must not count on a rapid reorientation of public opinion from an "image of the enemy" to an "image of the partner."

As is known, public opinion has a complex structure. For us it is important to consider the presence of "two basic 'strata' of its functioning: the superficial, which is maximally actualized and coinciding with the so-called operative (operational) conscience of the mass in a reaction of the public, the community to variable, nonrepetitive problems, events and facts of life; deep-seated coinciding with a more or less stable set of fundamental characteristics ('symbols of faith' and mechanisms) of mass conscience and inherent to a society at a certain stage of its development" [14, p 52].

Mobility of public opinion to a significant degree is characteristic of the former. Let us illustrate this by the dynamics of the opinions of Muscovites on the threat to the Soviet Union from the United States. In November 1987, on the eve of the meeting of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev, with President R. Reagan, 80 percent of the Muscovites replied "yes" to this question and 5 percent "no." However, in May of the following year, after the summit meeting in Washington and the signing of the treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles and on the eve of the summit meeting in Moscow, just 52 percent of the Muscovites (that is, almost 30 percent less) felt that the United States was threatening the Soviet Union and 29 percent replied "no." The situational reference of public opinion was also manifested in the replies of the French to the question of what nation is the number-one "enemy of France." One out of two (54 percent) named Iran and this was actually determined not by a general negative view of this country but rather by the heightening of Franco-Iranian relations during the period of the poll and which ended with a diplomatic rupture. Here also a certain role was played by the "French Irangate" involving the delivery of weapons to Iran.

As for the stereotypes of perception which we mentioned above, these can be considered in the second, deep-seated stratum as they are less subject to situational changes, and are more persistent due to the fact that the determination of the stereotype's content is rather complex and includes factors of a varying order including psychological, cultural, national, political, ideological and historical. For this reason "to destroy a stereotype" (although, in our view, it would be more accurate to speak about "getting free of false stereotypes") and to see a partner in a former enemy—for carrying out this task time would be needed as well as substantial changes in the social processes, particularly in the political and ideological sphere and which would add content to the stereotypes. For example, it took the Finns rather a long time, some 60 years between the two wars and the concluding of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration

and Mutual Aid in 1948 in order to completely get rid of the image of the USSR as the enemy and aggressor.

In studying the perception of the USSR, the researchers proceeded from an elucidation of the attitude of the

Finns to: 1) socialism—communism; 2) the Russians; 3) the Soviet Union as a great power and neighbor. For this reason, the key words were "Russian," "communism" and "Soviet Union" [15, p 91].

Image of USSR existing among Finns in the 1920s:	Image of the USSR existing among Finnish youth in the 1980s:
<i>Russians</i>	
—aggressive, barbarians, slavish, uncivilized	—neutral or positive attitude
—inferior race	—submissive, tolerating the system
	—with particular habits
<i>Communism</i>	
—something unnatural, senseless	—negative attitude
—atheistic	—something mythical and monstrous
—threatens vital values of Finland	—does not represent immediate threat
<i>Soviet Union</i>	
—superenemy of Finland	—strange state, incomprehensible system
—bastion of Bolshevism which threatens Western civilization and Christianity	—good neighbor
	—good trade relations
	—threat from great nuclear power

The problems posed in this article, on the one hand, do not exhaust the entire range of questions arising in an analysis of data from international comparative research and in addition many of them are of a general nature and apply to sociological research of any type, in particular, the mutual understanding of the sociologist and respondent, the balance of the normative-general significant and individual-pragmatic, the proper and real in replies and the correlation of subjective indicators with objective ones. On the other hand, the interpretation of the data, in order to avoid a distorted interpretation, requires a more complete consideration of the specific features of the studied object or process as well as a maximum number of the sociocultural, political and ideological features of the region. Without playing down the importance of studying the operational stratum of public opinion, in the international research we would like to note the following. For obtaining serious results it is essential to touch the deep-seated stratum and this is feasible only in employing a broader set of procedures and methods of analysis. Thus, the opportunity will appear to review the process of phenomenon comprehensively and from different sides, and the soundness of the conclusions and recommendations will be increased while the degree of hypotheticalness of these in the research known to us at present is very high.

Footnotes

1. Carried out under the leadership of V.G. Andreyenkov and V.A. Mansurov by co-workers of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in November 1987 jointly with the Parisian Institute IPSOS and the TV network TF-I. The poll was conducted in France according to a national sample (N=900 persons). In the USSR, according to a representative

one: Muscovites were questioned (N=718) as well as inhabitants of the rayon center of Inzhavino in Tambov Oblast (N=184).

2. The phenomenon of so-called "intergroup discrimination" in the process of perception is sometimes detailed in the following manner: 1) maximization of intragroup similarity; 2) minimization of intragroup differences; 3) maximization of intergroup differences; 4) minimization of intergroup similarity [11, p 99].

3. Joint Soviet-Finnish research on the subject "The Image of the Neighbor Nation" conducted in November 1988. The sampling (N=1,017 persons) represented the RSFSR population [13].

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Public Health Problems Through Reader Eyes

915D0004I Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 10, Oct 90
(signed to press 30 Aug 90) pp 138-140

[Article by Valeriy Nikolayevich Zytsev, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent at the Makeyevka Construction Engineer Institute, and Igor Zinoviyevich Dolzhanskiy, sociologist at the Makeyevka Metallurgical Combine. This is the first time they appear in our journal]

[Text] A study of public opinion concerning the state of public health in the city of Makeyevka was carried out

with the aid of the newspaper MAKEYEVSKIY RAB-OCHIY which printed the questionnaire. Of all the documents sent in to the editors, 616 questionnaires were fit for processing.

In examining the research results, we will proceed from the particular features of a mail (newspaper) poll. With this method of collecting information, a sample is formed not randomly, as with a probability selection, and it is not representative. To put it simply, the questions of the questionnaire were answered primarily by those who had to often use the services of the public health institutions and by those least liking their services. Hence, the questionnaire results may not adequately reflect the opinion of the entire general aggregate, the city residents. However, in terms of information quality, such research approximates the expert polls and its results are sufficiently indicative since they most completely reflect the opinion concerning the shortcomings of the organization of public health in our city and they provide an opportunity to see the worst-off spheres of medicine.

Those answering the questions of the questionnaire were $\frac{2}{3}$ women, the average age of the respondents was 42.7 years and were persons with a high educational level. This actually was a portrait of an average resident of our city and the basic patient of our medicine.

As a whole, the level of medical and nursing aid was viewed by the respondents (by those who answered the questions in the questionnaire) very low: only 0.3 percent viewed it as excellent and 1.5 percent as good, while 58.0 percent felt it unsatisfactory and 36.9 percent satisfactory. There were certain differences in the assessment of the state of medical services depending upon age, education and type of employment of the respondents. With an overall low assessment of the state of public health in the city, assessing it higher than the others were respondents under the age of 20 and over the age of 60, the public health workers, housewives, students and pupils as well as respondents with a lower education level (here one can speak even about a clearly expressed trend: the higher the education level, the lower the view of the public health level in the city and vice versa).

The respondents considered the basic problems determining the level of medical services to be: the absence of the required medicines (this alarmed 68.3 percent of those polled), the poor attitude of the medical personnel to the patients (54.9 percent), the low skills of the physicians (51.9 percent), the poor organization of the reception of patients in the polyclinic (47.4 percent), poor food in the inpatient facility (44.9 percent), the lamentable state of the medical facilities (44.2 percent) and the absence of poor quality of equipment for medical research (40.1 percent).

In the opinion of the respondents, the situation in our city was worse in such sectors of medicine as therapy (40.9 percent of those replying to the questionnaire), neurology (38.3 percent), gynecology (27.8 percent), stomatology (27.1 percent) and pediatrics (22.4 percent). If

it is considered that these sectors of medical services were also accurately distributed in terms of the frequency of visits to the corresponding specialists by the city inhabitants, then it becomes clear that the level of all our medicine is uniformly low.

At present, in the mass information media voices are evermore frequently heard against the existing system of assigning the city residents to medical facilities and specific physicians. This system is viewed as inefficient and requiring reorganization. Our respondents held the same opinion. Only 10.9 percent of those polled felt that the system should remain as before, the remainder felt that it should be changed. Some 59.3 percent of those polled imagined it in such a manner that any city resident could himself choose his doctor at any medical facility, 23.7 percent felt that a person should be assigned only to a medical facility and within it choose the physician himself. A desire to obtain greatest freedom in the choice of a physician was noted more often among women, among respondents from 20 to 40 years of age and among persons with a higher education level. Respondents under the age of 20, workers and pensioners more often than the rest favored the former system of medical services.

The city is also debating paid and unpaid medical services. On this issue the opinions of the respondents split: 9.4 percent favored having all medical services be basically paid for with corresponding compensation in wages, pensions and scholarships; 28.7 percent felt that only certain narrow areas of medicine should be paid for (named more often than others were gynecology, drug treatment, sexology, venereology, neurology and prostheses); 18.5 percent agreed that only consultations by leading specialists should be paid for; all the same, a majority (39.0 percent) felt that public health should basically be free. The results are completely explainable. Above it was already said that the persons answering the questionnaire were mainly persons who sought medical aid more frequently than others and for this reason, it seems to them that they, with other conditions being equal, would suffer more materially with the introduction of payment for treatment. The most significant share of those seeking to keep gratis public health were medical workers (50 percent of the replying medical workers). A major share of such respondents was also found among the employees of the state institutions, the ideological apparatus, culture, education and science as they are now receiving relatively better medical services as well as among pensioners and students who fear that they will not be able to pay for treatment with their meager income. The smallest share of persons exclusively favoring free treatment was among the workers.

The shortcomings which exist in the organization of medical services have led to a situation where many people, particularly those who often fall ill or are severely ill, are turning for aid to the representatives of nontraditional medicine. Among our respondents 44.8 percent were such. And there are most such persons in the age group from 20 to 40 years, among persons having a higher education level and among employees in the

sphere of services, culture, education, science and public health. Fewest of all are among the pensioners.

The basic reason for turning for help to nontraditional methods is ineffective treatment in a hospital (77.6 percent of those replying) and among other reasons we would put "mistrust of medical institutions" (19.1 percent of the respondents) and the impossibility of maintaining anonymity in seeking services (4.0 percent). Most often persons turn to nontraditional medicine due to illnesses of the nervous system with 22.0 percent of those replying, for injuries, fractures and contusions with 19.5 percent, external wounds, ulcers, boils, tumors and so forth with 19.5 percent, illnesses of the stomach, liver, kidneys, the pancreas and so forth with 16.3 percent. But the largest amount of visits was for illnesses of children and 39.4 percent of those answering this question resorted to aid of nontraditional medicine on these questions; this was 18.0 percent of all persons polled. There have also been attempts to use nontraditional medicine to treat malignant tumors, sexual lability, to cause abortions and so forth. All these data indicate what sectors are less developed in our city. Here the number of persons turning for aid to nontraditional medicine will rather grow, since an absolute majority (83.0 percent) felt a positive effect from the nontraditional treatment.

The respondents gave a low assessment to the quality of preventive examinations (60.9 percent viewed this on a five-point scale as unsatisfactory). Among the basic reasons for the low evaluation: the formality of the measure which did not provide a person with anything (66.9 percent of those polled), poor organization due to which a great deal of time was spent (27.6 percent); the low level of the specialists conducting the examination (21.6 percent). Outpatient registry has also caused complaints and criticism among 69.8 percent of the respondents registered at outpatient clinics. They feel that their treatment did not differ from the treatment of the remaining patients and that they try to get rid of them more quickly and take them off registration.

More than 1/2 of those questioned (53.9 percent) mentioned cases when they were not given a sick leave certificate although they were ill. The basic reason was the absence of an elevated temperature in going to the doctor (50.9 percent of those answering this question), as well as an incorrectly given diagnosis, bureaucracy in drawing up and issuing the sick leave certificate, extortion and bribery (1.2 percent of those answering). Simultaneously with this, 63.0 percent of those questioned knew of instances when a perfectly healthy person was given a sick leave certificate. The respondents felt that the basic way of obtaining a certificate in this instance was bribery (93.8 percent named such cases) or with the aid of friends and relatives (19.3 percent).

The proposals of those polled to improve medical services were basically linked to strengthening the physical plant of the medical facilities and improving the management of medicine and the wage system for the medical workers.

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Articles Not Translated

00000000 Moscow *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA* in Russian No 10, Oct 90
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[Text] The Rise of Capitalism and European Civilization: Sociogenetic Interpretations (A.I. Fursov) (pp 26-42)

The Bitter Truth of "Vekhi" (The Tragic Experience of Self-Knowledge of the Russian Intelligentsia) (Yu.N. Davydov) (pp 67-81)

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Measuring the Audience of Satellite and Cable TV in Western Europe (G.P. Bakulev) (pp 110-117)

We Are Pleased With the Successes, We See the Difficulties (Jia Chunzheng) (pp 141-144)

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Sociologist's Bookshelf (Unattributed) (pp 144, 150, 158)

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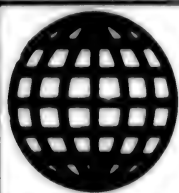
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No 6, November-December 1989

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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 6, November-December 1989

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SOCIOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR THE ECONOMIC REFORM

Economic Priorities in the Social Sphere

905D0008A Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
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pp 3-13

[Article by Aleksandr Vitalyevich Telyukov, candidate of economic sciences and sector head at the Scientific Research Economics Institute Under the USSR Gosplan. Our journal has published his article "How to Introduce New Types of Services" (co-author, No 4, 1984) as well as a number of reviews]

[Text] The social sphere, as an object of economic policy, can be viewed as a unity of three component parts: distribution relations—services for the public—the regulation of employment. Let us endeavor to note such principles of perestroyka in each element which would assist in the closer coordination of them between themselves.

As is known, during the years of the 12th Five-Year Plan, there has been a definite reorientation to solving social problems with the proportional amount of the consumption fund rising in the use of national income, with the increase rate of expenditures on nonproduction construction surpassing by several-fold the dynamics of production capital investments and an increase in the share of services in gross national product. At the same time, the real income of the population (the aggregate indicator of prosperity) has risen at a slower pace and under the conditions of an evermore marked commodity-monetary imbalance, the end effect of many social measures has declined substantially.

The experience of recent years indicates that in order for the social changes to become more profound and assume an irreversible nature, it is essential, in the first place, to strengthen the stimulating functions of distribution policy in order to achieve an actual conversion of socially useful labor into a source of well-being; secondly, to exclude the return to the residual method in allocating resources for social development, and protect the social sphere from unpredicted shifts in economic policy and the structure of budget priorities. Here an important role must be played by the mechanism for automatic expanded reproduction, specific accumulation and the utilization of social development resources. Thirdly, it is essential to reconnect the nonproduction sectors with the

commodity-monetary economy. The sociocultural institutions should operate with maximum benefit for society and at the same time have their own material interest. Otherwise, that is, in maintaining a complete economic lack of motivation for the "producers" of unpaid goods, the major additional resources for the development of the nonproduction sphere will not produce the expected return.

The designated goals can scarcely be reached without a revision in the most important guidelines in distribution policy, a comprehensive reform in the public consumption funds and the elaboration of a new system for financing the sociocultural institutions. Let us examine each of the mentioned questions in greater detail.

Career—Earnings—Pension

The distribution of income as a whole and, in particular, the wages of manual and white collar workers is about 3.2 points according to a decile coefficient. At the same time, the processes of the intercountry leveling out of the income differentiation levels for hired labor show that in a developed economy, the wage system ceases to impede a rise in labor productivity or prevent a territorial, sectorial and vocational-skill mobility in the labor force with a 6-fold gap between the opposing 10-percent groups of employees.¹

Moreover, at precisely that time material remuneration begins to perform socioeconomic functions such as bringing the wage conditions according to professions, specialties and occupations into accord with the actual differences of the specific types of labor in complexity, intensity and social importance; encouraging vocational growth of the worker and an his active planning of his career in all stages of labor activity; assisting free economic choice in favor of various types of employment as well as spheres, sectors and form of job placement; providing a socially "painless" flow of the labor force between the social economy and the sphere of individual (family) and cooperative labor.

With a 6-fold differentiation of the public in terms of the wage level, grounds appear for sharply restricting the sphere of the state impact on wages over the next 10 years. Centralized measures will regulate the national economic labor income minimum and compensate for the surplus differentiation with the aid of a progressive tax on high end income. As for the rest, earnings will be regulated on the basis of the self-planning of the cost accounting (leased) enterprises and the market conditions for setting income in the individual-cooperative sector. This, on the one hand, will provide the labor collectives with an economic incentive to participate in perestroyka, and which has been so insufficient in relation to the current attempts to impose quasi-cost accounting relations from above; on the other, this will guarantee the comparability of material interests in the different national economic sectors and consequently their balanced development and drawing together for the indicators of profitability and the product price level.

Ultimately it will be possible to abandon the rigid extraeconomic regulation and move to a "management by relations" from the socially acceptable guidelines of a low-level and differentiation of income. Thus, economic independence in a key production element will be restored in one of its main manifestations.

The public consumption funds (PCF) are required in the reform. In our view, it is essential to set up specific state social insurance funds. The deductions by the enterprises and organizations for social insurance should not flow in a single channel into the "common pot" of the state budget but rather be accumulated for specific social programs. First of all, it makes sense to establish a system for obligatory medical insurance, a state fund for the young family, education and retraining of personnel as well as a state employment insurance fund.

Along with the state funds, it would be advisable to develop collective voluntary insurance funds for the main types of monetary payments and social benefits and primarily, pension and medical self-insurance for the workers. It would be also possible to switch to the forming of these funds a portion of the money of the enterprises deducted according to compulsory specific rates for social security or above these rates in the process of the "socially responsible" distribution of the cost accounting income as well as by giving bonuses to the employees in insurance policies or routine payments. Due to self-insurance, there will be the real use of additional money in the wage fund and at the same time it will be possible to avoid a direct contribution of monetary payments to the strengthening of the commodity-monetary imbalance. The multiplicity of insurance funds will make it possible to more narrowly specialize each of them in terms of goals as well as in terms of the sociodemographic and vocational groups of the public. One other advantage is that the struggle which inevitably arises between the fund for a service contingent leads to economic competition according to the principle "maximum services with a competitive insurance payment rate." As a result, there is a rise in the discipline of expending the money and the financial effectiveness of the entire social security system.

It would be advisable to decentralize the financial PCF system. The results of many social programs will be more tangible if these are turned over for administration to the local soviets. Expenditures under these programs to a significant degree should be covered from the local taxes on the profits of the self-financing enterprises and organizations as well as by monies distributed from the national specific social insurance funds.

Without eliminating distribution according to labor, it is essential to strengthen the linkage of the social payments and benefits with the results of the socially useful activity of man. At present, the PCF not only do not carry out an incentive function but in certain instances impede a rise in labor productivity in the national economy. Thus, the size of the pension does not depend upon the amount of wages over a larger portion of the labor career. At an age

of the highest labor activity a person is not interested in paying to insure himself a maximum pension but, on the other hand, during the last year the load must be increased regardless of whether strength permits this. In other words, the ability and the interest in working productively differ in time.

The link of the amount of pension with uninterrupted employment and years worked evermore obviously contradicts the demand of the economy for the mass liberation and redistribution of employees, as it fetters a person to his job and intensifies the fear of interrupting labor activity for a certain period.

In order to overcome the designated shortcomings, it is essential, in our view, to abandon the granting of a pension considering the overall and continuous length of employment and introduce a complete period for pension insurance. This can be calculated, for instance, by 10-15 years of permanent (over a quarter) employment in the social economy and give the right to the receipt of a pension upon reaching pension age. In this instance, there will be a significant broadening of the freedom for the self-determination of the employee in relation to both the sphere of employment as well as the form of job placement. Depending upon family and other circumstances, a woman can interrupt her professional activities without fearing for the future of her pension. Furthermore, it would be advisable to set a direct link between the amount of the newly granted old-age pension and the average annual earnings over a period commensurable in terms of the number of years with a total labor life. If the figures include the earnings of the last 30-35 years, a person, without endeavoring to achieve continuous employment, will also work "beyond" the insurance period (maintaining the limit of the pension age will also provide a stimulus in the same direction). Here there will be a more responsible attitude toward labor income in youth and in the elderly years and at the same time the dependence upon the prepension earnings will be reasonably reduced.

Finally, the right to early retirement should become generally available. For a majority this will involve a certain reduction in the pension (proportional to the number of unworked months) in comparison with its full amount. The introduction of such a practice, on the one hand, democratizes the most important social payment (it reduces the average statistical limit of the overall pension age, and on the others, makes it possible to more fully consider the requirement of the national economy for the accelerated renewal of the labor force.

It is very important to strengthen the orientation of monetary payments from the PCF to supporting family income. The amount of pensions paid for old age, disability or in the event of the loss of the head of the household must be set considering the family situation of the recipient and differentiated depending upon whether or not he has underage children or disabled children, whether there are parents to support and so forth. The

proposed approach, in turn, is tantamount to introducing family assistance derived from the main social payment. A system of such assistance will make it possible to bring the income of many families which do not have a sufficient source of earnings to a socially acceptable level; to assist the less well-off families in performing their socially important functions (supporting underage children or elderly parents; creating material conditions for the children to obtain an education); to more flexibly distribute labor remuneration between spouses (a woman who in old age is guaranteed assistance totaling 50 percent of the full pension of the husband can plan her own employment relatively freely).

Finally, it is essential to systematically revise the amount of social payments considering the changing conditions under which the monetary income of the public is realized. Here the main thing is to consider the increase in prices. The "basket" of goods and services used for calculating the composite consumer price index should be set separately for the regions, the urban settlements and rural localities. The price level for each position should be fixed as the "average purchase prices," that is, proceeding from the redistribution of the market stocks of product and services between the public, cooperative and individual sectors of the consumer market.

Financial Conditions for the Service Sphere

The successful restructuring of the social sphere will depend largely upon the national economic guidelines which determine the development of the nonproductive sectors and strengthen the commodity-monetary principle in the service economy. First of all, it is essential to completely overcome the archaic stereotype of thinking which for a long time has underestimated the role of the social and domestic infrastructure. At the same time, we must not go to the other extreme of following the "progressive" dogma according to which the more rapid development of the nonproduction sphere is an indisputable benefit for the national economy.

How can we achieve balanced development in the two spheres of the economy? The main thing certainly is the unification of the material composition of prices for goods and services in such a manner that both reflect all the factors which form the value of a product of expanded reproduction. The rates for paid services and the prices for "producing" gratis services realized in the system of relations of internal budget cost accounting (we will take this up below) must be constructed according to the formula "cost + profit." The amount of the latter should provide the national economic level for the profitability of the nonproduction sectors. Such a prerequisite is essential in order to maintain a financial-cost balance in the economy under the conditions of the free and active transfer of resources between the two spheres. With an equal repayment on investments, the process of the more rapid development of the nonproduction sectors assumes an inner economic sense and becomes possible as a phenomenon of a self-regulating

economy and not as a result of the administrative imposition of national economic priorities.

At present, the profitability level for the individual types of services differs substantially: in the areas of paid services extensive zones of planned losses survive. A transition to the more rapid cost accounting development of the nonproduction sphere will bring about a sharp restructuring in the sectorial proportions and this does not in all ways coincide with the demand structure. Probably there will be an abrupt increase in prices caused by the desire of the producers to escape from the burden of economic losses.

Considering what has been said, the initial measure to accelerate the development of the service sphere (and not to the detriment of the financial and cost balance in the national economy) should be not so much the allocating of large additional resources as the planned retariffing of services for bringing the sectorial profitability indicators of the services into accord with the average level for the economy. At the same time, it is essential to reduce the centralized portion of the net income from the enterprises in the material sphere by the amount of the eliminated subsidies allocated for the previous paid services operating at a loss. The savings of the enterprises in the deductions to the state budget will provide material compensation for the workers in line with the increased cost of certain types of services.

The "resetting" of the financial proportions for conditions of expanded reproduction will achieve its goals only under the condition of the simultaneous putting into operation of an effective antiexpenditure mechanism within the limits of direct or internal budget cost accounting (with the "culling" of lost enterprises and organizations).

The next principle is to bring the two spheres of the national economy closer in terms of the level of return from the utilized resources. While the first condition (the equal return on investments) is an essential prerequisite for the accelerated and balanced development of the service sectors, the second can be viewed as sufficient.

Whatever profitability is initially established in the service sphere, price competition will not make it possible to maintain it on an acceptable (in comparison with the material sphere level) if labor productivity, the return on investment and other values inverse to the service "capacities" will lose out significantly to the commodity-producing sectors. This is precisely what is happening in the nation as labor productivity and the return on investment in the sociocultural complex is 3.1- and 2.2-fold lower than in the material sectors. The gap between the two spheres of the economy in terms of the level of the economically effective use of resources is much more noticeable than in the other developed countries (in the United States, for example, for the designated indicators it is 1.3- and 1.5-fold, respectively [2]). Among the reasons for this are the insufficient skills of the workers employed in the service sphere, the

unjustifiably low pay for a majority of the nonproduction specialties and the substantial lag behind the material sectors in terms of the amounts and quality of the fixed capital and its active part.

Consequently, in order to incorporate the more rapid development of the service sphere into the process of optimizing the entire national economic complex, in parallel with the expansion of the scale it is essential to intensify significantly the services. In investment policy, more attention must be given to reconstruction and technical reequipping and as for new construction it should be closely correlated to eliminating hopelessly obsolete facilities. It is time to abandon the facile notions of the possibilities of redistribution of labor resources into the nonproduction sphere. The attraction of additional employee contingents must be correlated with the efforts to create technically well-equipped work areas. The enthusiasm for employing millions of "barefoot" medics and teachers has led to an acute contradiction with the technological standards of services in a modern, fully computerized (in the West) sociocultural sphere, not to mention those nonproduction spheres where the technical and economic level is similar to industrial production. Material incentives for the employees for high end results assumes particular importance in the question of intensifying services.

The designated conditions for the financial and cost balancing of the two spheres can be normally reproduced only in observing in the service sectors the common principles of a commodity-monetary system with a diversity of ownership forms and approaches to the organization of services. In the utility-domestic (traditionally paid) services, it is important to overcome the technical and economic stereotypes, that is, abandon the excessive concentration of capacity, maximally differentiate the types and sizes, the criteria for territorial adjustment and the principles for the operation of the enterprises and institutions. The unilateral approach when expanding the network is carried out predominantly by large enterprises oriented at impersonal "average statistical" requirements and tastes should be replaced by the principle of the balanced development of large, medium and small organizational forms. Along with the standard types of services provided according to a unified production scheme, evermore attention must be given to individualized services which reflect the minute nuances of demand.

Clearly, the turning of services into an element of daily consumption presupposes the saturating of the territory with small service facilities—both state as well as family-cooperative and individual. Here an important condition for their successful operation is a flexible price formation mechanism and high material interest of the employees. In order to synthesize the various forms of ownership into a single economic mechanism in the service sphere and ensure the coexistence of small and large enterprises, it is essential to overcome the rigid directive planning, having put unlimited distribution of contractual and leasehold relations in opposition to it.

How Much Is a ~~P~~able in Services "Worth"?

The sociocultural facilities need, in our view, a special economic mechanism within which medical assistance, the process of education and many types of cultural services, in remaining basically unpaid, would be turned into viable forms of economic activity with the "producers" of the corresponding services having a direct material interest in high end results.

For this it is essential to abandon the existing practice of estimate financing for the gratis services facilities and convert to covering their expenditures using specific rates, that is, calculated per patient who has undergone a course of treatment, a certified young specialist, a retrained employee and so forth. A system of such standards following a typology according to the end tasks of the services will become an economic guarantee for allocating resources in an amount not below the necessary for achieving the set quality standards. In putting the result of sociocultural services (as the criterion for covering the production expenditures) as the focus, the new norming system will also encourage their rational saving. Money unjustifiably overspent relative to the standard level would not be recovered while that saved without hurting quality would remain in the budget of the institution.

In essence, the norms would set the price of the service and make it possible for the facilities not only to cover their outlays but also earn a profit. In the sociocultural facilities there would thus arise a sort of internal budget cost accounting.

Due to such a mechanism, the sectors of unpaid services can achieve self-financing on the basis of a market interaction with the purchaser. Society as a whole will act as the latter. The realization of social interests in acquiring educational, medical and other socially significant services will rest on a system of normed compensation drawing on money in the specific funds of compulsory and voluntary social insurance. Supplementary financing sources could be subsidies from the Union and territorial budgets, money from the enterprises which conclude direct contracts with the sociocultural facilities and, finally, payment by the public. The key element in the internal budget cost accounting should be a system of democratic control over the activities of the sociocultural sphere as well as a mechanism of applying, economic, legal and public sanctions for poor quality services.

As was already pointed out above, for the balanced interaction of the two spheres of the economy, it is important to correctly assess the possibilities for the more rapid growth of the nonproduction sphere. First of all, it is essential to have a clear understanding of at just what economic stage we are in the development of consumer facilities. The extended existence of the sociocultural infrastructure under the conditions of acute resource insufficiency, isolation from the commodity-monetary economy and standing outside the process of

expanded reproduction, led to a situation where the value and prices of services were significantly understated both in relation to commodities as well as from the viewpoint of the socially and even the technologically acceptable minimum of expenditures on developing vitally important types of services.

It is worthy of note that American economists, without showing the real scale of resource hunger in the service sphere of the USSR and endeavoring here to at least somehow explain its survival with such low indicators of public outlays, were "forced" to ascribe a mystically high purchasing power to the ruble which is spent on providing resources to the service sphere. At the same time, in terms of the commodity portion of the gross domestic product of the USSR, the parity of the purchasing power of the dollar and the ruble was characterized by American specialists with ratios of from 2.1:1 to 2.5:1, for the range of nonproduction services this was 5:1 and in public health even 10:1 [3]. In actuality, a bed-place in a Soviet medical inpatient facility of 12 rubles of daily routine expenditures carries out (unfortunately, only nominally) the same therapeutic and diagnostic tasks as an American bed with a daily cost of \$460 [4, p 394; 5, p 100].

If one adopts a uniform price construction for expanded reproduction of goods and services as well as a price ratio for goods and services existing in the United States beginning in the mid-1940s (and rather objectively reflecting the correspondence of prices to uniform quality criteria for the entire market), then it turns out in our nation for bringing prices for services into real accord with the national economic level of socially necessary expenditures, it would be necessary to increase the indicator for the aggregate product of the nonproduction sphere by almost double or by approximately 110 billion rubles [6].

The economic sense of such an evaluation is seen in the following: around 110 billion rubles must be additionally invested into the nonproduction sectors within their current boundaries (with an unchanged service network) in order for them to fulfill their socioeconomic functions not in words but in deeds and not being inferior to the commodity-producing sectors in terms of the opportunities for resource support.

In following the American structure of average sectorial prices for services (and this has been tested out by years of experience of sales under market conditions and has remained essentially unchanged over the last 3 decades), some 2/3 of the 110 billion ruble increase would have to go to increase the wages of employees [6]. As a result, the wage intensiveness of services which at present is greater than in material production would even more noticeably exceed the indicator for the commodity-producing sphere.

What has been said means that the more rapid development of the nonproduction sectors (with the balanced combination of different types of resources) would begin

to generate additional solvent demand on the part of the workers employed in these sectors and this only partially could be satisfied by the expanding volume of realized services. To a significant degree this would flow into the commodity market where there is already an excess of demand over supply.

In the United States, the process of the noticeably more rapid development of the nonproduction sphere as a whole fits within the chronological limits of 1955-1970. By 1960, here on a per capita basis, 1.5-fold more meat was consumed than at present in the USSR, 10 percent more vegetable oil, 20 percent more vegetables, 2-fold more fruits [4, p 425; 5, p 114]. The supply of motor vehicles for the public has surpassed the present level of the USSR by 7-fold and the value of accumulated household property (not including homes) by 6-fold. The structure of personal consumption expenditures looked, according to our current views, more than modern: the share of foodstuffs was 25.5 percent (in the USSR it is now over 40 percent) while paid services were 42.5 percent (in the USSR, less than 15 percent) [4, p 419, 447; 7].

Thus, the United States has "set out" on the more rapid development of the nonproduction sphere, relying on the solid foundation of the solvent demand of the public for commodities which is satisfied in terms of volume and structure.

In our nation such a basis is absent as the additional demand for material products, in accompanying, as was pointed out, the accelerated development of services, can intensify the scarcity of "primary" consumer goods. The population groups with average and high incomes will feel most the broadening of the services. However, the social effect will be neutralized by the additional burdens for the less well-off consumers under the conditions of the shortage of food products. The more rapid growth of the service sphere activates the process of stratification in society depending upon the opportunities for spending monetary income and the level of prosperity. It is not to be excluded that the high-earning producers of expensive services (in particular, in the individual cooperative sector) will isolate themselves from the market and limit themselves to servicing others like themselves.

Socioeconomic Conditions for Rational Employment

In the area of managing employment, the main task is to overcome the noneconomic methods for attracting the labor force and begin establishing a labor market in the nation. The latter must provide materially justified and socially just forms for reconciling personal and public interests in the employment sphere. In practice, this would guarantee the real legal and economic independence in preferring the specific spheres, sectors and forms of labor placement.

The initial level in forming a labor market is abandoning in national economic planning the dogmatic view of full employment. If this comes about, there will finally be a

demand by society to free the labor force. The enterprises will be able to use the economic results from the mechanization and automation of production. With the presence of a large-scale system for retraining, reallocation and job placement for those released, territorial, sectorial and vocational mobility will rise substantially and better prerequisites will occur for working an incomplete workday as well as flexible schedules. Other forms of reconciling the interests of production and the persons employed in it will begin to be established. Ultimately, the labor factor will cease to restrain the technical reequipping and structural reshaping of the economy (as now happens) and this, in turn, will help overcome the strictly extensive type of reproduction for production capacity. On the social level, there will be broader opportunities for combining professional labor with other forms of socially useful activity.

The first steps aimed at organizing a labor market were undertaken by establishing a mechanism for releasing and reallocating the labor force, however the absence of a favorable sociopolitical climate did not make it possible to achieve the desired results. Among the economic reasons for the failure the main one is that the enterprises do not have any economic independence which would cause an interest in releasing employees.

Thus, increased mobility of the labor force is possible only through the channel of a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism. What measures are needed here to be taken in the area of centralized management of employment? In our view, the primary thing here is establishing a system for mass retraining, territorial redistribution and labor force job placement bodies.

Furthermore, it is essential to provide for the interaction of the state, the economic sectors and territorial self-administration, in specializing the central bodies in the interregional reallocation of employees, the sectorial agencies (and in the future, the voluntary associations of cost accounting enterprises) on the internal sectorial movement of personnel and the local soviets on solving the employment problem within the territory. Coordinating the three elements is possible by the balanced allocation between them of the flow of financial assets from the state employment insurance fund.

One of the important questions which must be settled is related to material compensation. In our view, it is essential to extend the break in employment up to 5-6 months and eliminate the current procedure whereby monetary compensation is planned as a single payment without a narrowly specific purpose. For this reason, it makes sense to substantially reduce the main assistance, introducing a right to the free use of certain services as well as chiefly the specific additional payments (scholarships at a retraining center, traveling allowances differentiated upon the area of the forthcoming place of residence, and so forth).

As for the adaptation of the state programs for managing the labor market in terms of the specific features of small enterprises and the particular economic interests of the individual-cooperative sector, in posing the given task we have proceeded from the prospects of establishing diverse forms of ownership in which manpower mobility would rise and the redistribution would assume a more unpredictable character than is currently the case.

An important social effect of the proposed measures to regulate employment will consist in establishing the right to labor precisely as an economic right and not as a guarantee of social support which it currently is.

The Guideline—The Quality of Life

The designated approaches concern the most acute social problems requiring immediate solution. At the same time, we must not overlook the long-term goals of raising the prosperity of the people. An orientation to the future can be perceived as an "exotic" of the distant future and it can even contradict current tasks, but it is essential for working out a successive and enterprising social policy. Let us briefly take up certain long-term guidelines in the restructuring of social administration.

All the social indicators planned in our nation come down to the quantitative level of consumption. The growth of the latter is essential but, as is now becoming evermore apparent, this is not sufficient for increasing prosperity. Moreover, this often contradicts the fundamental guidelines of social progress. Thus, increased wages in the national economy to a large degree are achieved by increasing the compensatory surpayments and bonuses, including in line with bad working conditions. There still are 50 million jobs with manual, physically hard labor giving the right to an additional payment (at times, a significant one) on top of wages. Here 75 percent of the funds for improving working conditions is made up of monetary compensation by which the hirers of the labor force buy off those who agree to sacrifice their health for the sake of money.

There are also other manifestations of the designated trend. The production of complicated but unreliable household equipment with unchanged legislation is tantamount to strengthening the legal impotence of the consumer when confronted by shoddy products. Along with "unpaid" public health, the illegal monetary "remuneration" which medics receive from patients is becoming evermore widespread. Rapid housing construction has been accompanied by a deterioration in the psychological climate and the ecology of residing in rapidly developing settlements.

Behind each of the given examples is a situation where the supply of vital goods is accompanied by a deterioration in social conditions. The reduction in the end effect is explained by the fact that the rise in the consumer standard has often impeded the forming of socially progressive views of life.

Into the theory and practice of social administration, it is essential to incorporate the notion of the "quality of life" as a measure of an uncontradictory combination, on the one hand, of increased consumption and, on the other, a change in the value orientations of society. Increased prosperity presupposes the coordinated growth of the level of consumption and the quality of life. In other words, movement toward an abundance of goods and services should not cause a deterioration in the structure of the population's time budget or negatively impact the security and stability of the environment or the sociopsychological climate.

In keeping with the increased level of general education and vocational culture, with the stronger orientation of people to skilled labor and as access to vocational training, scientific and leisure information is broadened, consumer preferences in the public changed in favor of meaningful, highly organized forms of consumer, domestic and recreational activity. The corresponding goods and services (be this a motor vehicle, a personal computer or freedom of travel unlimited on the material level) possess a particularly high consumer effect. However, in order to realize this on the scale of society, it is not enough to saturate the market with these goods and services. It is essential to create a political, sociopsychological and legal environment favorable to their consumption. The providing of such "institutional" prerequisites for the development of a progressive consumer model goes far beyond the limits of economic relations but precisely the given process opens up the path to changes in the consumption sphere and a socially mature society should be oriented at this.

Important tasks remain to be carried out in the area of socioeconomic changes. The management of social processes should be based upon a system of multidimensional evaluation of the social results of economic development. One of the prime tasks is to coordinate the three fundamentally different groups of characteristics: economic (traditionally adopted in planning) indicators of the standard of living, expert indicators of the quality of life and subjective judgments of the public concerning their own social well-being. Such a system of assessments would combine quantitative measurements with judgments by the experts and economic information with the data from sociological research. It would be possible to combine all the obtained characteristics in a single integral indicator, a national index of the living conditions.

Of particular interest, in my view, are the subjective evaluations which show to what degree reality corresponds to the aspirations and expectations of the individual, the social stratum and society. Has not our social policy been wrong because in working it out we have forgotten to establish the needs, desires and requirements of the people? In other words, a correct choice of the social priorities presupposes steady feedback from all stories of the social edifice and it [the feedback], in turn, requires a constant improvement in the subjective assessments of well-being and the development of a sort

of "sociology of happiness." A major contribution must be made to this question by experts who are capable of thoroughly assessing the economic and political situation in the nation as well as formulate a representative sampling of the public for sociological research on the quality indicators of well-being. The proposed area could become one of the priority programs in sociological work and would noticeably improve the quality of social administration.

Footnote

1. Estimated from 13 developed capitalist nations [1].

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Prices With a Price Ceiling and Floor

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[Article by Farkhid Nazipovich Ilyasov, candidate of philosophical sciences and science associate at the Department of Philosophy and Law of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published his articles: "Experimental Basis for the Number of Scale Divisions" (No 4, 1984), "Public Opinion on Unearned Income" (No 5, 1988, as co-author) and a number of reviews]

[Text] The absence up to the present of a satisfactory price theory in world science is explained, in my view, by the fact that the latter traditionally is considered a strictly economic category and its sociological aspects have fallen out of the perusal of the researchers. As a result, an integrated notion has not been formulated of a price as a socioeconomic phenomenon and this impedes the effective use of the price formation mechanism. Let me attempt to designate certain sociological approaches to an analysis of this phenomenon.

Who Dictates Prices?

Let me begin with a slight explanation. If a telephone sold in a store has a retail price of 50 rubles, then its wholesale price (that is, the true production costs plus enterprise profit) is around 25 rubles. The difference between the retail and wholesale price (in the given instance 25 rubles) is in its economic essence one of the forms of indirect taxation called an excise tax. After the tax reform carried out in our nation in 1930-1931, the designated difference was named the "turnover tax." At the same time, it was stated that an excise tax had been eliminated in the USSR and existed only under capitalism.

The turnover tax is set on articles having increased demand or prestige consumption. Theoretically, being a portion of the net income of a socialist society, it goes completely to the state budget. But in practice a significant portion of it goes to subsidize unprofitable and loss-producing goods.

Two secrets are tied up with the mentioned tax. The first, a state secret (at present, it obviously can be revealed) derives from those ideological considerations which so mysteriously and illogically forced the renaming of the excise tax. In essence, this is a tax paid by the purchaser and the addition "turnover" assumes that it is a matter of the turnover or working assets of the producer. In actuality, the producer receives only a wholesale price for his product and, strictly speaking, the turnover tax has no relation to the retail price. The situation is not altered by the fact that the enterprise itself pays to the budget a similar tax on certain types of goods.

The notorious name was to conceal (clearly, someone found this "inconvenient" or even "incompatible") the fact of the existence of such indirect taxes under socialism as the excise tax (collected through the prices of goods in broad consumption) and the fiscal monopolies (a particular form of excise taxation whereby the state declares a state monopoly on the production and trade of individual goods, setting increased prices and collecting enormous taxes from the consumer).

The other secret, the economic one, consists in the fact that no one knows the method for calculating the turnover tax. Nevertheless, it not only exists, but in individual instances reaches impressive amounts.

How is its amount set? Behind each line in calculating costs, there are specific methods of measuring expenditures and these make it possible to obtain exhaustive information on why the wholesale price, for instance, of a bottle of Pshenichnaya [Wheat] Vodka (a half-liter) is 21.5 kopecks and the wholesale price of a GAZ-24 Volga car is 2,880 rubles. But as for the question as to why the retail price of the bottle (with a screw cap) is 10 rubles and the GAZ-24 ("without surcharges for better design and operating indicators") is 15,000 rubles, there is no concrete answer. How can one explain in the first instance that the turnover tax is 46-fold greater than the wholesale price and in the second over 5-fold more?

In what manner is the gap determined between the wholesale and retail price or, what is the same thing, how is the amount of the latter determined? Here three initial methodological principles are at work: 1) analogy (the existing price level for analogous goods), 2) intuition (of the "author" or more often the "authors" of the price), 3) the opinion "from above."

If one considers that the first principle (analogy) in its essence represents the two other ones (intuition and "opinion") only realized sooner, it becomes understandable that the retail price level and, respectively, the amount of the turnover tax are directly linked to subjective assessments. Thus, it is a matter of the economic conduct of the subjects (principals) of the market. From this it follows that a solution to the problem (or at least a certain portion of it) moves from the sphere of the concrete economy into the sphere of economic sociology [4].

With any subjective measurement, the subject (principal) cannot be absolutely certain of its accuracy. Doubts are also inherent to the officials who set prices. Let me give an example illustrating the action of the above-mentioned principles of retail price formation.

As is known, after entering a taxi on the meter there appears the amount of the "base fare" of 20 kopecks. When the vehicle sets off, for every 100 m of movement the figures change one after another with 22, 24, 26 and so forth. Contrary to economic logic, the taxi meter almost mystically shows only even amounts of kopecks. What is the issue here?

When over 10 years ago it was discovered that for a portion of the nation's taxi fleets the profitability was significantly below a level necessary for normal operation, out of the two possible variations for solving the problem—either improve the production activities of the lagging vehicle fleets or increase the fare for the use of the taxi—the second was chosen. Within this variation, two proposals were also made: increase the fare by 50 percent (that is, set 30 kopecks per 1 km) or by 100 percent (that is, 20 kopecks). There was no specific argument in favor of either decision. In truth, there was the very possibility of a rise in the sense of forecasting solvent demand. This was unambiguously shown during those years by the coefficient of demand elasticity for the services of taxis relative to the real income of the

population [5, p 78], and now, more importantly, by the formula of the regression dependence of the expenditures on taxi services upon the amount of population income [Ibid., p 79].

Why did the proposals arise to set precisely 15 or 20 kopecks and not, for instance, 16 or 21? It seems that there was one reason: round figures possess a particular psychological attractiveness, primarily, evidently, due to convenience of calculation. Incidentally, there was one objective argument in favor of a 100-percent increase in the fare. This was proposed by the maintenance service of the motor transport workers. Since the new fare was to be introduced on the same day over the territory of the entire nation, an enormous number of new meters had to be prepared. Without even mentioning the expenditures for production, it was impossible to do this in the necessary time. It was possible to reset the old meters quickly and reliably (on the far righthand wheel the teeth were engaged opposite the uneven numbers and for this reason the reading jumped from zero to 2 kopecks and then 4 and so forth) only under the condition of increasing the fare by 100 percent. So the "technological" argument helped the supporters of the adopted decision set a fare of 20 kopecks per kilometer. Let me add to conclude this subject: for the first several days the nation's public completely boycotted the taxis, however several months after the most popular "April fool's" joke of 1977, receipts approached the level of the old fares. The supporters of a doubling of the fare were "right." And the plant manufacturing the meters some 12 years later is still using such a fortuitously found simple method for resetting and the figures as before jump from 20 kopecks immediately to 22 and then by even numbers

A Tax Table of Ranks

But let us return to the turnover tax. If those who set it do not know how it is calculated, then what does this tax represent from the viewpoint of price formation theory? There are three conceptual approaches to its interpretation. According to the first, the turnover tax is the reflection in price of the amount of the good's consumer value; according to the second, it is a reflection of the ratio of supply and demand. Within the third explanation (in my view, the most reliable), the designated tax represents simultaneously the reflection of consumer value and the ratio of supply and demand.

Thus, there is the completely natural conclusion that the subjects [principals] setting the amount of the turnover tax intuitively grasp to what degree consumer value for a specific good and the ratio of supply and demand for it make it possible to set an "optimum" (maximum?) retail price.

But since it is an issue of a subjective reflection of an objective economic situation, it is possible to speak of the subordination of the subjective reflection to real patterns. From this it follows that the problem of measuring the turnover tax consists in locating the patterns

underlying the subjective measurements. In other words, it is essential to establish how they measure: consumer value, the relation of supply and demand (the degree of the good's scarcity) and in what proportion monetary equivalents are assigned to the measured values.

The subjectivity in measuring the turnover tax leads to a situation where there are certain vacillations (dispersions) in its amount even with a suitable economic situation. However, a definite average dependence probably can be discovered. I will take up only one and that is the ratio of the wholesale price and the maximum value of the turnover tax or, what is the same in the given instance, the wholesale and maximum retail prices.

The ratio of supply and demand is regulated not only by the quantity of purchasers and the good but also by consumer value. A change in this with the same balance of supply and demand involves a change in price. A price will increase for a more fashionable or prestigious thing. At the same time, a change in consumer value is capable of influencing the amount of the balance of supply and demand as with increased "fashionability" of a good there is an increase in the number of those who want to purchase it. (A characteristic example was the noisy "velvet boom." The Beatles one fine day came out on the stage in velvet suits—at that time a very unfashionable good—and literally on the next morning velvet had become a good in increased demand in many corners of the world.)

On the other hand, the balance of supply and demand influences the amount of consumer value. For example, the scarcity of one or another good makes it prestigious and thereby increases consumer value. We might recall how with the lifting of the subscription limit to certain periodicals, the number of subscribers fell as there was no longer any action of the factor of scarcity on consumer value and as a result of this the latter dropped for many to a level below the purchase value (see also [3]).

From what has been stated, it follows that it is arbitrary to make a separate review of consumer value and the ratio of supply and demand. In actuality, they cannot exist in isolation, as these are not two separate factors but rather a dialectical whole. It is no accident that in calculating a price, either one or the other is represented by the same indivisible concept of the "turnover tax." The dialectical total of consumer value and the balance of supply and demand is reflected approximately and intuitively in it.

Thus, the problem arises of measuring precisely this amount, let's call it the consumer-exchange index. As was pointed out, the amount of consumer value and the ratio of supply and demand in their dialectical relationship are reflected in the price in the form of the turnover tax. Let us examine the ratio of the amount of the latter and the wholesale price in the price structure for consumer goods, that is, let us analyze the retail price structure from the viewpoint of the relationship of the wholesale, on the one hand, and the consumer value and

demand, on the other. The choice of consumer goods was caused by the fact that in comparison with production and technical end products, here the mentioned ratio is reflected more fully.

In the course of analysis, it was discovered that with an increase in the wholesale price, the absolute value of the turnover tax rose while the relative value (in comparison with the amount of the wholesale price) declined. Here a cursory acquaintance with sampling data make it possible to speak of a clearly definite trend. Let us examine what is the nature of the given relationship for the most important aspect and, namely, how does the maximum value of the turnover tax change with an increase in the wholesale price.

For this purpose, a grouping of prices has been constructed according to their amount and this grouping is based upon the following consideration: the adjacent intervals provide a qualitative distinction in the amount of the price. In essence, such a grouping should reflect the qualitative difference of the goods. In other words, if the quality of one good is double the quality of another, then the price of the former should be respectively double the latter. Proceeding from this, a grouping was constructed based on a geometric progression with a denominator equal to 2. The grouping is shown in Table 1, the second column (the upper values of the intervals are given).

Table 1: Ratio of Amount of Wholesale Price and Maximum Value of Turnover Tax

Interval Number	Amount of Wholesale Price, rubles	Maximum Value of Turnover Tax (multiple in relation to wholesale price)	Interval Number	Amount of Wholesale Price, rubles	Maximum Value of Turnover Tax (multiple in relation to wholesale price)
1	0.02	25	11	20.48	1.8
2	0.04	24	12	40.96	1.4
3	0.08	23	13	81.92	1.3
4	0.16	22	14	163.84	1.2
5	0.32	21	15	327.68	1.1
6	0.64	20	16	655.36	1.0
7	1.28	19	17	1310.72	0.9
8	2.56	18	18	2621.44	0.8
9	5.12	17	19	5242.88	0.7
10	10.24	16			

The goods were grouped by the amount of the wholesale price (all the price lists were analyzed for the state retail and corresponding wholesale prices as approved by the Goskomsenas [State Price Committee] of the USSR and all Union republics as of 1 January 1989). Within each obtained group, a commodity was isolated having the maximum amount of turnover tax. Thus, the table reflects the maximum (relative) amount of turnover tax for each interval. However, since the system existing in the USSR for state retail prices is far from fully conforming to value (the aggregate of socially necessary expenditures), the consumer and exchange value of the consumer goods, the table has been adjusted considering the difference between the wholesale and sales price of certain goods on the so-called black market. As the additional information source, we used a poll (n = 121) and this performed an auxiliary and simultaneously control function.

The respondent was to reply to what degree he would agree to overpay for a thing which he needed greatly but which was almost impossible to find. Each respondent was offered three or four figures (the prices from Table 1, Column 2). The total was divided by the amount of the price and the obtained result represented a sort of relative maximum for the amount of the turnover tax.

Among these responses they also took the maximum values of the "overpayments."

All three measurements (price lists, the "black market" and poll) underlay the constructed dependence. In terms of the line of its main trend, it was leveled out and idealized. Incidentally, the given measurement, of course, is approximate and should rather prove the presence of the phenomenon than give it a maximally precise description. As is seen from Table 1, the ratio of the good's wholesale price to the maximum (relative) value of the turnover tax is subordinate to a definite law and with a geometric rise in the former, the relative value of the latter diminishes uniformly.

The mathematical processing of the obtained result has shown that the discovered link between the amount of the wholesale price and the maximum of the relative turnover tax amount can be described by the formula:

$$Y = 26 - (2 + \lg X) / \lg 2,$$

where Y—the maximum relative (multiple) amount of the turnover tax; X—the amount of the wholesale price in rubles; 26 and 2—empirically calculated constants.

In order to find out at what maximum price it is possible to sell one or another scarce commodity, it is necessary to substitute in the formula the amount of the wholesale price of the given good in rubles in the place of X and multiply the result (Y) by the wholesale price of the given good.

An analysis of the given empirical data shows that the consumer and exchange value are relative amounts and depend upon the wholesale price and hence cannot have their own independent absolute value.

How Much Does Justice Cost?

However, the question of how to measure the consumer-exchange index remains moot. One of the possible approaches is to measure using a sociological method as is partially apparent from what was stated above. The designated index has two parameters: the consumer value and the ratio of supply and demand. They possess the ability for a directly proportional interaction in both directions of increase the decrease. Consequently, this is a class of problems of measurement which can be solved

by the logical square method [6]. Since, as is clear, the consumer-exchange index is a relative amount in relation to the wholesale price (value), the measurement can be made in the following manner. The respondent is asked two questions: 1. How great is your desire to purchase the given good? 2. How scarce is the given good? Clearly, the first question measures consumer value while the second measures the ratio of supply and demand. The answers were processed according to the logical square method and as a result of this values were obtained for the consumer-exchange index (see Table 2). Further its amounts (from 1 to 8) must be normed relative to the values of the maximum (relative) amount of the turnover tax (from 7 to 25, see Table 1, Column 3). The largest value of the consumer-exchange index (8 points) was equated to the relative amount of the turnover tax of one or another good in accord with its wholesale price and in this manner we determined the weight of one point for the consumer-exchange index. Proceeding from this, the maximum value was derived for the turnover tax of a specific good with the given amount of the index.

Table 2: Scheme for Constructing Consumer-Exchange Index

How Great Is Your Desire to Purchase Given Good?	Degree of Good Scarcity				
	Virtually Never in Free Sale	Sold Very Rarely	Sold Rarely	Sold With Short Breaks	Virtually Always for Sale
Extremely great	8	7	6	5	4
Very great	7	6	5	4	3
Rather great	6	5	4	3	2
I should think about it	5	4	3	2	1
I do not want to buy good	0	0	0	0	0

Thus, it is possible to propose (although somewhat schematically) an algorithm for defining (measuring) the amount of the retail price on the basis of the three key price-forming factors of value (the aggregate of socially necessary expenditures), consumer value and the ratio of supply and demand. Such an algorithm combines economic and sociological methods. The wholesale price is determined on the basis of the costs and a standard profit. Its value is substituted into the above-given formula and as a result one obtains an interval within which the amount of the turnover tax can fluctuate for a good having one or another wholesale price. Then, as a result of measuring the consumer-exchange index and its norming, an approximate amount of turnover tax is set for the given good, with a specific amount of its consumer value and ratio of supply and demand.

Here, of course, the question arises of social justice in the sphere of retail price formation. Should the maximum amount of the turnover tax (the maximum possible retail price) be set in all instances and is this just in relation to the consumer?

The notion of "just prices" which has become widespread over the last several decades in our nation in its essence derives from the notion of just distribution which has become deep-rooted in the public mind. The theoretically proclaimed basic principle of distribution under socialism "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" in practice has been warped by two circumstances: in the first place, by the desire to embody in life the ideal of just distribution inherent to Utopian socialism ("everything that there is should be shared equally among all) and, secondly, by the egoistic aspirations of the ruling elite.

Being one of the main transmission mechanisms in the distribution system, the retail price subsystem fully corresponds to the existing leveling notions of justice. For this reason, one of the main functions of the retail price system is leveling. It is realized, as is known, in the following manner: prices for a significant portion of the products (the so-called vital necessities) are set below their value while for goods of prestige consumption and in increased demands ("luxury items") this is much higher than the wholesale price. In other words, in second instance a high turnover tax is set (sometimes

surpassing by several-fold the amount of the wholesale price. A portion of this does to subsidize the production of the unprofitable (loss-producing) vital necessities. Thus, in purchasing "luxury articles" the high-income population groups thereby partially pay for the cost of the goods which are acquired by the less-well-off strata.

At present, social justice in the sphere of distribution is more and more often interpreted as the successive realization of the principle of "to each according to his labor" with the socioeconomic protection of the low-income categories. In this context, social justice in the price formation sphere assumes a different content. A solution to the problem is seen in the following. With the aid of the corresponding methods, the notorious "line of poverty" is finally "seen off." For all consumer goods prices are set no lower than their cost and this inevitably involves a rise in the prices. The total by which the increase occurs should be balanced off by monetary compensation in income in such a manner that the less well-off population groups are not below the line of poverty. Here they propose introducing a system of retail prices (and, correspondingly, a structure of consumer goods) which has a great differentiation from the viewpoint of the amount of the consumer value of the goods.

As for the turnover tax, it is not set on goods which ensure a standard of living not lower than the poverty line (that is, of sufficient quality but comparatively low consumer value), while it is collected on goods of the same sort but having great consumer value and the amount of it grows proportionally to the consumer value. In other words, a great differentiation in prices (for goods of the same sort) should correspond to a great differentiation in wages (income). This not only will make it possible to provide a satisfactory standard of living for the citizens with low income but will also play an incentive role. This is the question of such a phenomenon of economic behavior as the desire of the individual to move to a superior consumer group. In a situation of strictly carrying out the principle of "to each according to his labor," it will be possible to realize such an aspiration only due to increased labor productivity. Thus, the retail price system will perform the functions of social protection and the strengthening of labor efficiency.

Footnotes

1. Historical information: in Russia, the excise tax was established in 1838 for tobacco, in 1848 for sugar, in 1862 for salt, in 1863 for alcoholic beverages (instead of a system of drinking fees which existed beginning in the 16th Century) and so forth. At present in the USSR, the turnover tax is collected on products of over 20 sectors and subsectors of industry (perfume-cosmetic, liquor-vodka, confectionery, textile, tobacco, footwear and so forth).

2. The proposed method is based on the characteristics of consumer value given by K. Marx "value determined by opinion" [1]. For more detail on the measuring of consumer value, see the monograph by G.G. Azgaldov devoted especially to this problem [2].

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POLITICS, DEMOCRACY, THE INDIVIDUAL.

Who Will Become a Deputy?

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[Article by Viktor Grigoryevich Britvin, doctor of philosophical sciences and leader of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion and deputy director of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The conducting of a socialist state under the law is impossible without fully restoring the power of the soviets, without fundamental changes in the very foundations of their formation, without developing initiative and strengthening the interests of the voters in the course and results of the voting. At the same time, the difficulties of perestroika have dampened the optimism concerning the merits and immutability of the individual structures of power and the mechanisms of their formation and functioning and have forced a more sober and critical view of the entire aggregate of social and political institutions in our society and their ability to realize and reconcile the interests of the different groups of the populace.

The crisis of the traditional structures has sharply accelerated the dynamics of political life and there is an active process underway of forming its principals, including new ones and their elaboration of programs and the search for "their own" position. In this situation, when the moods and opinions of large masses of people are

being shaped through the clash of different interests, it is important to know what will determine the conduct of the basic groups of potential voters in the elections to the republic and local soviets. In order to correctly set the tactics, it is essential to have a clear notion of to which social groups the possible candidates can appeal, whom the public intends to support in the future and how the existing social background can reflect on the attitudes and conduct of the voters.

Co-workers from the Center for the Study of Public Opinion under the IS AN SSSR [Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences] have endeavored to obtain answers to the mentioned questions. In July 1989, around 1,460 persons were questioned in Alama-Ata, Volgograd, Kutaisi, Moscow and Riga. In this number were 856 workers, engineers, technicians and white collar personnel employed in the sphere of industrial production. The replies by this group of respondents are answered in the current article. In addition, materials have been used from other polls conducted by the Center including in Moscow in April 1989 (N = 425 persons) and in July (N = 830 persons).

It is not difficult to assume that the starting point for the scale of voter judgments was the elections of the USSR people's deputies and the work of the Congress itself. Its importance without any doubt goes beyond the framework of the adopted decisions. From the viewpoint of our subject, it is fundamentally important that the Congress destroyed the model which had been in effect for a long time in our nation of charismatic leadership. This was a major accomplishment of both the deputies who overcame their timidity as well as the leadership of the state itself which did not fear to act in the role of the object of critical statements which were transmitted directly throughout the world. The Congress became a most important channel for shaping and considering public opinion.

What was the attitude of the respondents toward the Congress? Some 34 percent constantly watched its work and 60 percent saw or heard the broadcasts periodically. Just 4 percent did not. These data agree with the results of telephone polls conducted by the Congress Group of the IS AN SSSR. The great interest in the work of the Congress did not mean that the assessments of the results of its work were as high. Only 8 percent of those questioned assumed that the Congress took a significant step forward along the path of the revolutionary renewal of society; 13 percent pointed out that regardless of certain problems it nevertheless successfully carried out the tasks confronting it. Some 17 percent of the respondents did not put any particular hopes on the Congress and its results confirmed the initial assumptions. The largest proportional amount (39 percent) of the critical individuals felt that things would not be moved forward by the discussions at the Congress; 17 percent were not satisfied with how the deputies defended the interests of their voters. An analysis of the data by regions and from the viewpoint of the socioprofessional affiliation of the

respondents did not disclose statistically significant differences in the judgments. Only one indicator was essential in this regard, party affiliation. Among the CPSU members and candidate members, the share of optimistic views was approximately 1.5-2-fold greater than among the nonparty persons.

I Vote for the Individual!

The decisive factors in choosing the candidate were: the attractiveness of the electoral program (40 percent of those questioned were guided by this) and the personal qualities of the candidate (36 percent). At the same time, a good number of persons (19 percent) chose a specific candidate because he was not a party member.

What arguments by the candidates primarily attracted voters? Sympathy by 46 percent of those questioned was aroused by an uncompromising view by the candidate of the severe economic straits of the nation, including providing the public with industrial goods and food products (38 percent). For 25 percent, criticism of bureaucracy was important. Analysis by the candidates of the reasons for the slow development of democracy and the lack of glasnost on the spot attracted, respectively, 19 percent and 10 percent of the respondents. The most effective means for influencing the position of the voters evidently was the print organs. In any event, 1/3 of those questioned linked their choice precisely with the setting out of the candidate programs on the pages of the press. For 17 percent of the respondents, the main role was played by the holding of television debates; for an equal number it was information gained from leaflets and appeals; for 15 percent, participation in meetings. From 6 to 12 percent of the voters took their decision under the influence of the arguments of supporters of the candidate, meetings as well as radio talks by the candidates.

In turning to the experience of the recent elections, one must not overlook the fact that, regardless of their importance and the unusual nature of the present political situation, a significantly smaller number of voters participated in them than before. The results of the poll on this question (85 percent of the respondents had participated in the voting) were close to the official data. Something else is alarming here: an even smaller number of persons, some 61 percent, intends to participate in the elections for the republic and local soviets. Of this number, around 13 percent has already taken such a decision and 23 percent as yet have not given it any thought.

Another important feature of the current situation is that the traditional sociostatus system for forming the group of candidates is virtually not working. Thus, only 26 percent of those questioned preferred a candidate from the workers. Around 16 percent preferred to vote for the representatives of scientists, journalists and writers. Some 9 percent were oriented to the people's fronts and other independent organizations. Some 8 percent of the respondents were ready to choose leaders of industrial

enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes and 5 percent of the respondents wanted peasants. From 2 to 4 percent proposed supporting leaders of the party bodies and executive committees of the local soviets and the leading Komsomol and trade union workers. In evaluating these data, it is essential to recall again that at the previous elections for a majority of those questioned, the leading criteria of preference for one or another candidate were his program and personal qualities. And in a hypothetical situation these

aspects came to the forefront. More than 1/2 of those questioned (57 percent) pointed to the professional, personal qualities of the candidate and not his official status as being the main things for them. If one compares the data of the spring and summer surveys in Moscow, it can be concluded with confidence that the significance of the "personality" criterion in electing a candidate deputy has intensified even more (see the table). In a word, in the forthcoming election campaign the mentioned factor will play a dominating role.

Distribution of Answers to the Question "In the Elections Do You Intend to Support a Candidate Who Represents Which Social Group?"

(A Respondent Could Mark Several Positions)

Social Status of Preferred Candidate	April 1989	July 1989
Worker	27	15
Peasant	10	3
Representative of intelligentsia (scientist, journalist, writer and so forth)	34	19
Economic leader	12	5
Leading party worker	7	2
Leading worker of local soviet executive committee	3	1
Leading Komsomol worker	5	1
Leading trade union worker	3	1
Serviceman	—*	3
Candidate from people's fronts and other independent organizations	—*	4
For me the professional, personal qualities of the candidate are the main ones and not his sociovocational affiliation	57	74

* Position missing.

A noteworthy feature in the current political situation is the rise and active work of the people's fronts, the informal movements and organizations. One-third of those questioned favored their involvement in the elections; some 26 percent supported them in some ways and in some ways not, with 17 percent against. Around 8 percent of the respondents were indifferent to the involvement of such organizations in the election campaign, and 14 percent had not yet determined their position. The greatest sympathy for the informal groups was shown by engineers and technicians, and here the share of their supporters reached 40 percent. Among workers there were 29 percent and white collar personnel 24 percent. Without going into the reasons for the existing situation, let us point out that the independent movements are presently more popular than the traditional institutions of power. Thus, in answering the question of what organization has the greatest authority among the population of a city (rayon), 14 percent mentioned the party organization and its leading bodies, while around 1/2 of those questioned felt that the independent associations did.

Time to Gather Rocks

This fact merits attention also because due to various factors there has been a tendency for a decline in party authority and the indications of this were noted even in the polls conducted by the center on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and soon after the conclusion of its work. A spiritual upswelling which accompanied the preparations for the party forum and the expectation of positive results were the dominating motive in the views of the workers at that time. More than 1/2 of the questioned workers, engineers, technicians and white collar personnel at that time linked a strengthening of the authority and influence of the party in society with the holding of the conference. Approximately 1/5 voiced the opinion that the results of the conference would not reflect on party authority and only 3 percent assumed that the prestige and role of the party would decline over the long run. A poll after the conference showed further unfavorable shifts in mass awareness. Just 23 percent of the respondents pointed to increased authority and influence of the party, 37 percent felt that the situation had not changed in any way, while 17 percent judged the situation negatively. The drop in public mood is

explained primarily by the fact that positive shifts in the economic area and to a definite degree in the political area occur slowly and in certain regards the situation after the conference even deteriorated.

The data of the last research show that in the mass mind a critical mood continues to build. Some 63 percent feel that the authority and influence of the party are declining while 1/4 of those questioned does not see any changes here. We would point out that the most critically inclined are the engineers, technicians and white collar personnel.

An extremely varied view in the mass mind is taken of the constitutional guarantee of the role of the CPSU as the leading and guiding force in Soviet society. Only 14 percent of those questioned considered such a situation completely correct, 29 percent favored a change in the wording of this article, while 40 percent favored its exclusion from the USSR Constitution. The supporters of the "status quo" were found most among the communists while radical moods were characteristic of nonparty persons. The question of the status of the CPSU is inseparably linked to the problem of multiple parties in the nation. What do the respondents think about this? Some 36 percent feel that true democracy can be achieved only under the conditions of a multiparty system, while 37 percent supported the opinion that the number of parties in and of itself does not determine the level of democracy. Some 15 percent did not support the idea of a multiparty system.

The decline in party authority is one of the main reasons for the nonelection of many party representatives running locally as USSR people's deputies. This was the opinion of 38 percent of those questioned. There is another viewpoint that the defeat was due to an increased critical attitude on the part of the population toward the party apparatus (24 percent). Some 19 percent saw the reason in the insufficient personal authority of the party workers put up as candidate deputies. Some 15 percent of those questioned supported the opinion that it was not so much a question of the attitude toward the party or party apparatus as it was the dissatisfaction of the people with the pace of perestroika.

In working out the election platform, the party organizations must consider the position of the potential voters on the matter of one person's combining the posts of party committee secretary and soviet chairman. The current research, like our previous polls, confirms that society maintains a dubious attitude toward the idea of combining the posts of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. One out of every 11 favored such a step as absolutely necessary; 38 percent of those questioned assumed that such a decision is admissible under current conditions but in the future, when perestroika becomes irreversible, it must be abandoned. Around 40 percent were convinced that the practice of combining posts must be abandoned even now. As for the combining of the posts of party committee secretary and soviet

chairman on the oblast, city and rayon levels, some 12 percent consider this advisable, while 68 percent of those questioned were decisively against.

Interesting data were also obtained on other aspects in the work of the future soviets and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the mass awareness there are shifts in favor of establishing factions (associations) of deputies here. One-third of those questioned felt that this was an indispensable condition for the effective work of the congresses and sessions. It is worthy of note that the opinion of the CPSU members and candidate members, on the one hand, and the nonparty persons, on the other, coincide on this question. Some 18 percent of those questioned in principle permit the possibility of such factions, although they do not consider this obligatory. Some 21 percent, in supporting a pluralism of opinions, does not feel that any factions or associations of deputies are essential for carrying it out; some 17 percent were against factions, assuming that the main condition for the successful work of the congresses or sessions lay in the unity of the people's deputies.

A Hard Struggle Ahead

The sociopolitical situation is a contradictory one. There are evermore reasons to view the crisis situation as a protracted process. At present, even insignificant deteriorations tell immediately on public opinion and moods. More and more often extremely dangerous centers of tension arise as a consequence of the increased interethnic contradictions, labor conflicts and so forth.

In the given situation, the attitude of the public to what is happening will be more and more differentiated. Support for the idea of the need for perestroika in society cannot help but undergo changes, both as a consequence of the clarifying of its goals and a more profound understanding of the problems as well as because a significant portion of the public has not received the expected goods which would lead to a rise in the standard of living. The difficulties of the economic reform, the growing deficit, the increased cost of living and the exacerbation of traditional problems on the job and at the place of residence undermine the authority of the progressive reform initiatives and reduce the trust in the authorities which should act as the organizers of the revolutionary changes.

The significant interest of the public in the measures unsanctioned by the local authorities and initiated more often by the leaders of independent social associations (and, incidentally, for other spontaneous meetings and demonstrations) provide grounds to assume that during the period of the election campaign, unsanctioned mass actions can be encouraged by the very situation of competition and debate which will accompany the struggle for the deputy places. The recent mass strikes of the miners confirm the high probability of such development of events.

Naturally, the diverse independent social associations and informal organizations will endeavor to provide maximum information to the public on their programs and propose their own candidate deputies. Such claims have serious grounds, considering the support by a significant part of the public for the informal groups as well as the widespread opinion that the candidate deputies should be proposed by meetings of citizens at stadiums, squares and other mass meeting areas; 1 out of 4 is in favor of organizing the collecting of signatures in favor of persons who are going to run in the aim of including them on the list of candidates (the data of a poll of around 1,000 workers from a number of large industrial enterprises in March-April 1988).

Without claiming broad generalization and in recognizing a definite limitation in the data obtained as a result of probing public opinion, it can be concluded nevertheless that with a very broad spectrum of judgments concerning complex and contradictory processes in the economy and political sphere, the optimistic note is beginning to give way to a pessimistic one.

In the forthcoming campaign for elections to the republic and local soviets, the situation of the candidates from the party organizations as, incidentally, from the other official institutions, will clearly become more complex.

The elections of the soviet chairmen could be the most dramatic. Under the conditions of increased criticism against the party and its bodies, the notion of the unconditional realization of the principle of combining the posts of the first leaders—party and soviet—can lead to a situation where there may be only an insignificant part of the communists and party committee first secretaries among the first soviet leaders. The principle of combining jobs on the level of the local soviets should be applied more flexibly, considering the existing situation and the specific features of the regions. Attention must also be paid to the legislating of the appropriate election practices.

A fundamental change in the attitude toward the party and its candidates naturally can occur with the start of tangible changes in the economy and primarily in the supply of foodstuffs and industrial vital necessities, together with noticeable shifts on the question of establishing social justice. This does not mean that the success of the party in the election campaign will not depend upon the quality of its conduct or upon the level of the organizational and ideological work. Greater responsibility must be shown toward working out the election program of the candidates from the party organizations and the preelection campaign. Considering the high popularity of the printed word among the voters, particular attention must be paid to the soundness, concreteness and realism of the election programs published by the party candidates.

The increased influence of the informal organizations, the possible deterioration in the economic situation and interethnic relations as well as the increase in labor

conflicts can tell negatively on party authority as the vanguard of progressive changes in society. This may be felt but this is not for certain. For now, in our view, in public opinion and attitudes there is a prevailing not so much of a critical view of the party per se, as rather the notion of seeking out principals in the political process who would best meet the developing needs and expectations of the people. Here the principal of the political process who satisfies the voter is not the representative of the official organization but rather the agent of a definite program of activity, an individual or personality not burdened down by the dogmas of the past but rather capable of bold independent action, sensing and knowing the current and long-term problems and needs of society, groups and individuals. Under the conditions of the further ideological and political pluralization of society, this circumstance will assume ever-greater weight.

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The Ecological Movement

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[Text] Changes in social life have moved ecology up among the most acute problems. A mass ecological movement has arisen and this has articulated one of the main, in my view, social contradictions between the self-contained bureaucratic "ecosystem" and the rest of life outside it. It is becoming ever-clearer that this "ecosystem" has grown up and organized its own well-being by exploiting the entire living environment and depleting its replenishable human and natural resources. The ecological movements have set as their task the defense of a key value: human life. It is far from accidental that the ecological initiatives have provided an impetus for the forming of such mass organizations as the people's fronts; the ecomovements already have their own history, traditions, leaders and extensive contacts, and most importantly, a constructive focus and a close tie with an independent science. Finally, it is fundamentally important that these movements to the highest degree are oriented at changing the value system. In this sense, they are the most radical in comparison with the other civil initiatives.

Unfortunately, our sociology has been virtually disarmed when confronted with the stormy empire of civil initiatives and protest actions as there is no developed notion of collective action under the conditions of socialism, let alone a theory of new mass social movements. The fact that for a long time we did not have the corresponding empirical material (or we did not wish to notice this?) cannot serve as justification. In order to overcome this barrier, it is essential to turn to the arsenal of world, including the so-called environmental sociology.

Theoretical Bases of the Analysis

The initial theoretical dilemma going back to the works of N. Smelser and A. Touraine is seemingly rather simple: either the social system gives rise and "produces" collective action or it [the action] does the same for society [1, 2]. If the former is correct, then the ecological movement must be described simply as a normal "social deviation" for society, as a populist or romantic protest. But if the latter is correct, then this movement is a force capable of influencing the transformation of our society.

The question posed in this manner cannot be resolved purely theoretically and it is essential to turn to the facts of history. Up to now, a majority of the social movements in our nation—both the protest movements and the innovative ones—have been in essence supplements to the existing administrative system. They could be viewed as indicators of maturing social problems which were used by the system for broadening or altering the sphere of social control carried out by the system. The presence of such indicators was beneficial for the system as it helped it to adapt to the changing situation. The experience of the United States and Western Europe shows that the governments, parties and legislative bodies of these countries learned a great deal from the ecological movement [3]. But our administrative-command system is a degrading system and until recently the notion of teaching it was alien [4]. One of the main reasons for this was the monopoly which prevented the appearance of any independent social principals whatsoever. Correspondingly, its own structure and the structures subordinate to it had a clearly expressed "mobilizational" (army, hierarchical) character. Theoretically, there could be no normal, that is, spontaneously organizing, social ecosystems. Of course, in practical terms they did exist but were concealed deep within the system.

In the course of perestroika, a qualitatively different situation has begun to develop with collective principals of action appearing and broadening their activity independently of this system. As this is so, it is important to understand whether they are merely a protest reaction or carry a serious, society-transforming charge, claiming thereby the role of a social movement?

There are various viewpoints concerning the criteria of such a difference [5]. In our view, the main ones here are:

1) the type of collective identification (the basis of the inner integration), 2) the organizational base and resource base, 3) the presence of a social principal and an antagonist, 4) the nature of the "problem field" for the interaction of the opposing principals. Let us endeavor to examine our ecological movements from these positions.

What is the basis of their collective identification? Clearly, here the integrating feature is not a class affiliation. Nor is it (although this is important) a territorial affiliation and age and vocational criteria are not applicable. The integrating feature of these movements must be sought out in the sociopsychological sphere, in their goals and values. In contrast to other social principals, where the aim of activity is rationalization (a change in the existing economic system or more just distribution relations), the ecological movements focus on maintaining the "world of life" with man being a part of this, that is, all of us. Correspondingly, these demands are addressed not only "outside" (to the economic and political institutions) but primarily to themselves and the immediate group around. "If not I, then who?" "Without us this problem cannot be solved"—such motives are very typical for the ecological activists. Speaking in favor of a sociopsychological basis of integration is also the fact of the rise of these movements on an interpersonal basis, the prevalence of interpersonal contacts and the selection of participants by human qualities. Subjective satisfaction (inner gratification) from the activity itself is a major motivating factor. Another integrating value is independence (in a small group) and the possibility independently of opposing and achieving specific goals. The movement also has a definite "we are the model" as they conceive of themselves as the protector of the living world against the encroachments of the administrative-command system.

A second important feature of the ecomovement is that in contrast to the administrative-command system, it is not against this milieu but, on the contrary, is rooted in it; its entire organization is antibureaucratic and is based on autonomous cells, horizontal ties and forms of direct democracy. But possibly the most important thing is that the movement has given rise to new socioecological cells on the spot, in the cities, rural localities and throughout society. Of course, a transitional situation is full of drama. On the one hand, these cells (as elements of civil society) are the first swallows of "normal" social ecology. On the other, as support groups for the republic and national movements (people's fronts and others) they become the most politicized cells of the social milieu and consequently again acquire a "mobilizing" character.

The third feature of the ecomovement is the presence of a social principal opposing it. This is the administrative-command system against which the ecomovement has waged an outright struggle in recent years. The designated circumstance distinguishes it from the nature conservation movements the activities of which have not touched the foundations of the system. At present, the participants of the ecomovement have realized that the

main enemy is not pesticides, not the equipment, but rather the system employing them. Indicatively, the people's fronts of Estonia, Latvia and others have largely emerged out of protest actions against moves which showed a complete disregard for the life of people and nature in entire regions.

Finally and fourthly, where are the nexus of conflict of the opposing forces and the center of gravity of their opposition. Initially, the ecological groups and movements fought for control over the actions of the administrative system (the locating of new nuclear power plants, enterprises, mines and the construction of canals). In time, the focus shifted into the sphere of criticizing the existing principles for the planning, financing and placing of the productive forces and the supercentralization of decision taking, that is, toward a criticism of the system itself. At present, a struggle is developing over the fundamental goals and values. This is a principle, key point

Goals and Values

The value guidelines of the ecological movement do not come down merely to the conservation of nature and resource saving. In the literature it is usually the question of a paradigm representing the aggregate of positions on the key problems of social development: the relations of man with nature and other humans, toward technology and the economy and to the principles of social organization and political life [6-8]. For this reason, it can be called the paradigm for the primacy of common human values. The latter circumstance predetermines its universal nature. However, in actuality it is possible to have a whole spectrum of its interpretations, since the social and cultural context within which it was established varies. The interpretation proposed below of the environmental paradigm is given in terms of the conditions of our reality.

Nature is an independent value. Man is a part of the biological systems which support social life and for this reason the latter should not violate the laws of nature. Man should return his "due" to it, that is, restore, maintain and reproduce the ecosystems destroyed by him

Relations with other people, interethnic and international relations. On the banner of the ecomovement are mutual tolerance and empathy, dialogue and partnership, cooperation instead of confrontation. There is concern not only for "near ones" but also "distant ones," for all. There is a requisite assessment of any of one's action from the viewpoint of its consequences for coming generations.

Attitude toward technological development. Any technological innovation has a human and natural price (risk) and this should be minimal. New technologies should be built into the natural systems, without destroying but merely lengthening the natural cycles. Priority is given to soft, biologically compatible technologies.

Principles of economic development. The economy is merely a means of satisfying rational human requirements. There is no production for the sake of production! Ecological stability is the prime criterion of economic development. Resource saving should become a standard of culture.

Social organization. A populated, diverse and safe environment is an increasingly important resource of the socioreproduction processes, for the formation and transmission of ecological values. The quality of human life depends not only upon the amount of consumption but also upon the possibility of working rationally, taking decisions independently and having the support of others. A man should have roots in nature and in culture and these survive only in the instance that those who protect and cultivate them are alive. The more diverse the national cultures and natural landscapes, the higher the social potential of society

Principles of political life. Glasnost and public control in all spheres of social activity, consistent decentralization of production and decision-taking, the development of self-management and forms of direct democracy and the obligation of working out long-range forecasts and alternative plans in taking economic and social decisions. The converting of the "ecological imperatives" (external constraints) into the values and standards of culture is an important task in cultural policy.

Of course, all of this is precisely principles and value guidelines. However, even now they have begun to be embodied in life in certain places. Let us take the program of the Estonian People's Front. At present there is a complicated sociopolitical situation in the republic. However, one cannot help but see that all nine sections of the program ultimately are oriented toward man and toward creating a safe and worthy habitat. The People's Front itself is a movement founded on civil initiatives. Its goal is to construct a socialist society on the principles of democracy and humanism, decentralization and self-government by the people. In accord with the program of the People's Front, the economy should be human and ecological and the political system should be tolerant of different opinions and activities of any, including political, independent associations. The urban environment should be humane, preserving of traditions and contributing to a restoration of cultural and religious dignity. In the area of human rights, there are all guarantees for the inviolability of the individual, property, home and correspondence. "The People's Front," states the program, "strives for a moral purification of society and a rebirth based on freedom of the individual, morality, honesty, goodwill, conscience, honor, shame and justice." It is specially emphasized that "the place of man in society is determined by the level of his education, vocational skill and initiative" [9].

However, it is a rather long distance from the declarations to their embodiment. Certainly, the administrative system over many decades has also proclaimed its principles. Will the mass movements become a creative

transforming force leading to a reassessment of previous values or will they remain merely a protest? On the one hand, the program of the Estonian People's Front and certain other ecological movements provide such a hope. On the other, the goals of national rebirth and self-preservation and an intense struggle for the sovereignty of the republics in which precisely national and territorial interests become the consolidating element can, under certain conditions, turn this struggle into a variety of nationalistic or populist movements.

But still there is reason to hope that precisely the ecological movements can become the agent of a changing system of values in the above-indicated sense. This is why. First of all, ecovalues are actually tantamount to the primacy of humanistic values and human needs. This is also clear theoretically as man reproduces in a certain environment, and at present masses of people have understood this truth in practice. Secondly, these values are not burdened down by the past but rather have a strictly positive hue in the eyes of the people. They are the least politicized and if they do cause political actions, they are headed by persons respected in the people such as S. Zalygin, V. Rasputin, D. Likhachev and A. Yablokov.

Thirdly, as a consequence of the inertia in the economic system and the dominance of antiecollogical values, the ecological situation for a long time to come will deteriorate and, consequently, tension will rise in society. And not only in the city but also in the countryside as it will take decades to restore the spoiled lands.

Fourthly, regardless of the great emotional charge which the ecological initiatives carry, in comparison with others they are the most professional and scientific. Here common human values draw close to scientific truths. Precisely the ecomovements are least subjected to group or any other parochial interests.

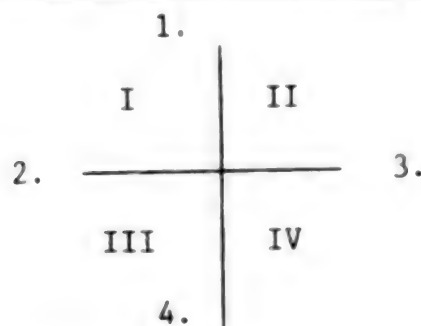
Fifthly, these movements are the most international with all the ensuing advantages of the international exchange of knowledge, information, the possibility of conducting joint actions and so forth. It must be remembered that if we dally too long in terms of an ecological reorientation of production, then the world and primarily Western Europe will simply demand this from us as the danger of the repetition of Chernobyl or other large-scale accidents is too great.

Finally and sixthly, under the conditions of such a fundamental change occurring in our society, there is a growing need among the people for points of support, including in the ideological sphere. Universal "ecologization" is presently becoming such an ideology and in the eyes of many, many people it is particularly attractive in that it is not a rigid and not a politicized ideology.

The Balance of Forces

Ecologists realize that major social changes are needed to achieve their goals. Their antagonists, in developing

System of Orientation for the Activity of Social Subjects



1. Orientation to Man
(Preservation of Nature)
2. Orientation to Maintaining
the Status Quo
3. Orientation to Social Change
4. Orientation to Production
for the Sake of Production

their own system of "production for the sake of production" (for the sake of the "gross," the plan and so forth), naturally fight to preserve an order of things advantageous to them. The aggregate of views arising in the given context can be represented as a definite system of coordinates (see the diagram). Let us use the obtained scheme for analyzing the balance of forces in the ecological movement.

Let us examine initially the diagonal "administrative-command system" (ACS)—"ecologists" (quadrants I-III). One cannot help but see that the supporters and representatives of the ACS are consistent opponents of the goals and values of the ecomovement. For the former, nature is merely a means for ensuring the existence of the system and for the latter, an object of protective and reproduction actions. For the former, relations with other persons are typical "organizational relations" based upon an hierarchical subordination and role interactions. In them there is no room for altruism or concern for "distant ones," be these neighbors at home or subsequent generations. The ecologists are not only more humane and human but are socially active. Over there there are "members of the organization" and over here there are "citizens."

While for the former technology is merely a tool for strengthening the might of the apparatus, for the latter it is an object of constant reflection, improvement and safe use. For the ACS which has created an economy of wastefulness and scarcity which is advantageous for us, ecologically safe technology is empty noise while resource saving methods are already a threat to their own well-being. The positions of the sides are equally radically different in terms of science. For the ACS, science is a departmental tool of self-defense and for the ecomovement a source for forming a new system of values.

without ecological knowledge it is impossible to have either new thinking, the elaboration of a strategy for solving regional problems or the further development of culture, both high and daily.

Their views are also opposite on the organization and development of the social sphere. Over the decades of its existence, the administrative system established a powerful machine for exploiting the natural and human resources of the nation. In fact, they viewed it merely as a source of their own life support. And hence, the growing pollution of the natural environment and the degradation of the social infrastructure, as well as the complete disregard for national cultures, the unique natural landscapes, the historical monuments and local traditions. Alien to the ideologists of the administrative system is the notion of social reproduction and its environment and linked to specific persons and groups and their real concerns. Here they are concerned solely with the "labor force" and the "working masses." In contrast to the ecomovement which arise on a sociopsychological basis and is a mass movement of individuals, the administrative system has always worked just with the "masses," in exploiting their natural human desires and then throwing them to the whims of fate, as was done with the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and scores of other "construction sites of communism."

Probably, the most grievous heritage of the administrative system is the creation of a new type of personality: a person without roots, a hired worker, a time-server and narrow minded person devoid of responsibility and ties. The ecologists endeavor to oppose his anticulture and nomadic psychology with the values of reasoned, creative labor, human mutual aid and solidarity, as well as developed methods of moral encouragement and remuneration. Western sociologists call their ecologists the bearers of postmaterial values. Since our society has not gone through the stage of developed industrialism, I feel that it would be more correct to say that our ecologists actively contribute to the discovery in society of oases where common human values are cultivated.

Finally, there are obvious differences in the sides in relation to the political sphere. The ecomovement opposes the administrative system in its nature, as it has grown up from below, out of the citizen initiatives, it operates openly and publically, by methods of direct democracy, and is in favor of independent experts and alternate planning. The administrative system, on the contrary, cannot exist without an atmosphere of secrecy, "pocket" experts, the fetishizing of plans ("a plan at any price") and other attributes of bureaucratic rule.

Thus, to put it briefly, a closed system opposes a mass movement, the disposer of the available natural resources oppose a force favoring their reproduction, the egoists and localists oppose the altruists and globalists, the conservatives oppose the innovators and reformers and the bearers of apparat values oppose the defenders of common human ones.

The question arises as to who at present makes up these two forces? At first glance, in any event in terms of the administrative system, the reply is a simple one. However, it is essential to consider that there always is a "core" or the protector and expresser of the corresponding system of values and an extensive "periphery."

As a whole, quadrant III is the ecological niche of the administrative system and, consequently, of all three groups which hold key positions in terms of the planning and allocation of all types of resources in our society. In the given category are influential groups in the ministries and departments, the local authorities of various levels in the collectives of departmental science, the trade union organizations and, of course, in the planning bodies. The fact that a majority of them is honest and ordinary people, in principle, changes nothing. These persons are the consumers of scarce resources and they construct their well-being on a socially unjust system of their allocation and pursue their own narrow group interest. This is the "core" of the system. Its periphery is extraordinarily broad. It is comprised of two different contingents of people. The first is those who serve it zealously, as this provides material goods and vertical mobility. In the given category are chiefly the workers of the middle and lower management level of the party, state, trade union and other apparatus, the workers of off-limits enterprises and the military. We would point out that their territorial shifts, as a rule, are a condition of vertical mobility. So that in relation to a specific town, rural rayon or generally any habitat, such persons are temporary by definition. At the current stage, here we would also have to put many cooperative members. The second contingent is made up of persons dependent upon the system: by law (servicemen) or because of the absence of choice. These also are an enormous army of persons in the "nomadic" professions such as expedition members, drilling rig workers, land reclamation workers, power construction workers and employees of transport and the extracting industry.

Who comprises the core of the opposite I quadrant? Even from the two characteristics (adherence to the ecological paradigm and opposition to the administrative system), much can be said about the persons comprising it. And here again it is essential to recall the importance of the social context. Thus, in the United States, Great Britain and West Germany, among the activists in the movement there are more women and those employed in the service sector of the economy, the representatives of the ecomovement are younger and more educated than their antagonists but are more poorly provided for, they better understand ecological problems but have a poorer notion of the political and nationality ones [7]. Obviously, under our conditions this is not the case. Yes, many of them are young, but very many are also elderly trying at the end of their lives to realize their experience in life and intellectual potential. There are many fewer women and persons employed in the service sector although on the other hand there are significantly more scientists, writers, journalists and

persons in the free professions. Our ecologists are usually moderately well off persons but also among them there are many who are simply poor (students, pensioners and workers in the nature conservation services). Yes, high professionalism is essential here, but the political situation in the nation has made many ecoactivists the political leaders of a nationality or even statewide scale.

It is logical to assume that the bearers of the new values should be persons who possess high human qualities. An analysis of the make-up of the Soviet ecological vanguard confirms this hypothesis. These, as a rule, are intelligent persons in the specific sense of this word: that is, broadly educated, humanistically oriented and with developed civil self-awareness. Here, if this is education it is a real one and not according to any diploma, it is real professionalism and not according to rank and title and the concern for the problems of man and the environment is authentic and not symbolic. "Professional + citizen + activist" is the formula for the vanguard of the ecomovement.

The "periphery" of the ecological movement (and here this word must be taken in quotes because the relations existing between it and the core are completely different than in the administrative system and are based on cooperation and mutual support) is comprised of the most diverse groups of civil initiatives either independent or members of mass ecological movements and people's fronts. They usually bring together in their activity a special-problem (specific) approach and belonging to a certain environment, territory or landscape. These include the student nature conservation circles, the ecolubs, the youth initiative funds, family-neighborhood associations, juvenile clubs, social initiative associations and many others. Let us emphasize that the ecologists defend the habitat as a whole (with good reason, some of them have incorporated in their names the word "noosphere") and they see the main way to achieving this goal in fundamental social changes carried out in the course of perestroika.

According to our estimates, the number of ecological groups is around 8 percent of the nation's urban population over the age of 14 while approximately 1 percent of this population is engaged in this work permanently [10]. Interestingly, the magnitude of the figures here is the same as in the United States, West Germany and other countries [3, 7]. This is not an accidental coincidence but rather proof of the global importance of ecological problems, on the one hand, and the reality of the democratization process in the USSR, on the other. The presence of mass ecological movements and "alternative" formations is a standard for any democratic society.

Who "inhabits" quadrants II and IV? Not only the success of the ecological movement, but also the fate of society as a whole depend upon the position of these people. At first glance it would seem that both quadrants should be empty due to the mutually exclusive nature of the orientations comprising them. However, the fact is

that the economic and social status, the culture and a number of other features of these groups give rise to very contradictory value orientations.

Let us designate the population in quadrant II as "workers" and quadrant IV as "inhabitants." Of course, there is not the contradiction between them as there is between the members of the administrative system and the ecological movements. Moreover, often these are simply the same persons and with a change of age or family status and so forth, they can move from one category to another. At the same time, there are numerous ties between them including family, neighbor, personal there are similar cultural traits and so forth. All the same, typologically, their value orientations and attitudes toward the habitat vary. Since the former are directly involved in a system of material production which evermore destroys the habitat, they, as a rule, are rationalists and technocrats. The latter are primarily involved in the milieu of social reproduction and for this reason they are more humanistically oriented. Correspondingly, the former see in their activity a means (earnings, public consumption funds) which provide access to vital goods, while the latter defend the independent value of the habitat and invest personal forces in its protection and reproduction. The former are employed primarily in the sphere of material production, primarily at large national enterprises, they are rural migrants, particularly in the first generation. The latter are children, young persons, young mothers, sick persons and pensioners, persons employed in the service sphere, education, culture, as well as modern (computer) sectors of social production.

As is shown by analysis of the operation of enterprises under the new conditions, the inner aspirations of the employees there are rather contradictory. Yes, they want independence and struggle for it with all their forces, that is, they support the key areas of the economic and political reforms. But at the same time, in any event for now, they do not express their doubts on the advisability of their production. Having gained independence, they will increase production while reducing outlays at the expense of waste-treatment facilities. Among those who join a demonstration, protesting against the lethal influence on the environment of, for instance, the existing biochemical plants, we virtually do not find their employees. The orientation to the system is as yet stronger than the orientation to the environment. These people continue to feel that the goods acquirable in the system (additional remuneration, better housing, improved services and increased pensions) compensate for the negative aspects of their harmful production.

Here it is important, in the first place, to have an objective coinciding of interests between the rank-and-file employees and their leaders. If increased independence at the enterprise leads to higher earnings, the attraction to it will grow stronger. Secondly, the existing legislation for now, securely protects the leaders against any sanctions for worsening the state of the natural and social environment. Even the fines do not intimidate, as

they are compensated for by bonuses for the development of production: the output of additional product and so forth. Thirdly, broadening economic independence places increased material prosperity and social goods for the employees directly dependent upon the intensification of existing production. In other words, again there is encouragement for the prevailing of local interests over universal ones. And as a result, the desire of the enterprises to build housing just for "themselves" and certainly close to production, the repeated emergencies in the subsidiary systems which cause harm to adjacent rivers and fields, abandoning the construction of waste-treatment facilities, the reduction in their own systems monitoring the state of the environment, the concealing or distorting of facts of polluting, the overoperation of the municipal infrastructures and much else.

What distinguishes the "residents"? In our notion, this is a social concept which designates the linking of a person with the local environment and the dependence of his physical and social qualities upon its state. The more the residents invest in it, the more they inhabit it, the more valuable this environment becomes for them. Thus, it is a question of the bearers of a localist awareness, however, in contrast to the members of the administrative system and the "workers," they endeavor to protect and improve not the organization to which they belong but precisely the habitat. So, these are people who value the environment and who in one way or another are rooted in it. Since the environment continues to degrade, they, in joining various initiative groups and independent organizations, are involved in the struggle for preserving it. Such a struggle, even over the question of strictly local problems, is a great teacher and educator of civil awareness. The logic of this struggle forces them to seek out allies among the ecologists and sharply politicizes their awareness (even a year ago it would have been hard to imagine that the leader of a local environmental group could contest the secretary of the CPSU *raskom* for the right to be the deputy candidate to the USSR Supreme Soviet).

The difference between the "workers" and "residents" is particularly visible in their attitude toward science. The former are indifferent to it and this is a negative fact, since the danger of technological innovations leading to the intensification of production and the hardening of standards derives from science. The latter are interested in contact with scientists and other specialists, since independent expertise and consultations are among the few means for effectively resisting projects which destroy the habitat. Among the "residents" are many professionals who act as leaders of the initiative groups and protest actions.

The views of these groups also differ over the social sphere. The command methods of economic leadership not only involved enormous masses of workers from material production in the process of destroying the habitat, but also accustomed many to the notion that this was the inevitable payment for the goods of civilization.

On the contrary, the "residents" create their own organizations and the work in these not only leads to a sharp improvement in the habitat but also satisfies inherent human needs for intercourse, mutual understanding, creative labor and so forth.

Finally, the political behavior of the designated groups also differs. No matter how naive and inconsistent the initiative groups are in their actions, they were involved in a real democratic process. Let us emphasize that these groups and associations arose before the beginning of perestroika and for this reason they already have their own traditions, tactics and political experience. Many "workers" at present, in the 5th year of perestroika, live under conditions of very limited production democracy as the administrative system still has too many opportunities for suppressing their activity and profaning it.

Dynamics and Prospects

If, in elucidating the reasons for the formation of the movement, we have focused attention on the value and sociopsychological factors, for understanding its dynamics, it is essential to draw attention to other features of the movement.

Let us begin with the fact that the existing political situation has favored the development of the ecomovement. The broadening glasnost has finally revealed, although far from completely, the banned statistics concerning the birth and death rates, particularly infantile, the level of air pollution and has made other information accessible without which the movement simply could not have existed. The ban has been lifted on discussing nuclear power and this also has been a major victory for the activists of the ecomovement. Ever-new initiative groups and associations arise literally daily and their programs include ecoprotective actions. Ecological demands have long held one of the first places in the election programs and the leaders of the ecomovements have become USSR people's deputies. Finally, the new thinking and the broadening of international contacts have not only made it possible to exchange experience and information with the "Green" Movement abroad, but, let me emphasize this particularly, have given our ecoactivists an entire "packet" of models in the form of international general democratic and conservation law.

The economic situation is leading—directly or indirectly—to the aggravating of ecological problems. Directly because the inertia of this system is extremely great and, consequently, the probability of an increased deficit, the implementing of ecologically dangerous projects like pollution and new ecological disasters will rise. Cost accounting and the independence of enterprises in their existing form will further strengthen the antienvironment orientation of the workers and block the already meager conservation measures.

The sociopsychological prerequisites for the development of the ecomovement are extremely heterogeneous. The previous election campaign provided the movement with a powerful positive impetus, the criticism and

dissatisfaction of the masses with the activities of a number of departments like the former Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management has been growing, but in society there is no integrated concept of ecologization. It is important that the brunt of general social criticism be directed against the existing system of the distribution of goods (wage leveling and the elimination of group privileges), but not against the existing system of values and priority. In society there still is no comprehension that the existing economy cannot become "more economic" or resource-saving. It is impossible to abandon the gross and the plan without revising the value bases of our life.

Recent public opinion polls show a general rise in alarm: a fear of major technical emergencies and disasters was pointed out by 85 percent of those questioned, natural disasters by 76.2 percent and an ecological crisis by 50 percent [11]. But the attitude toward them is strictly traditional ("Chernobyl was a misfortune, an accident," "the best means against radiation is vodka" and so forth) and they lack the elementary skills of first aid in disasters. The main thing is that there is no awareness that the dangers themselves have fundamentally changed and that they often now have neither color nor aroma, they are invisible and can reach a person in any place. Even in Estonia, where 31 percent of those questioned are bearers of developed ecological awareness, only 4 percent was ready for immediate action [12]. Finally, it is completely unclear what role in assimilating the new system of values related to the transition to an ecologically oriented way of life will be played by the generations-long habit for a significant portion of society to live under conditions of a shortage and simple poverty.

In conclusion, let us try to evaluate the development prospects of the ecological movement in two versions: pessimistic and optimistic. The former version is possible if one or several ecological disasters occur. In this instance the introduction of a state of emergency, sanctions, an outburst of secrecy and increased international tension will undoubtedly sharply reduce the independent activities of the population. But let us hope for the optimistic version which is based on a further development of economic and political reform. In this instance, it seems to us over the next 2 or 3 years we can expect a further development of the ecomovement and its subsequent stabilization. In 10-12 years, it is possible to have the next step up, but now on a new social basis and under new socioeconomic conditions (scientific and technical progress, the introduction of ecotechnology, universal ecological literacy and so forth). The intellectual and informational resources of the movement will grow, primarily due to the professionalization of its core and the establishing of its own information and publishing facilities. The organizational resources of the movements, with the exception of the Baltic, are as yet insignificant. There is no national center which coordinates the actions on the spot and there is no developed organizational and technical infrastructure. For this reason, the fate of many important actions depends upon the goodwill of the rich social organizations,

newspapers or personal ties. Finally, the political weight of the movement will grow undoubtedly and this is directly linked to those particular features of ecological values mentioned above. A number of the national movements is seriously discussing the possibility of establishing a party of Greens in the republics. However, even without them the arrival of the main leaders in the superior legislative body means a sharp strengthening of the entire movement's positions. Even now virtually all the elements of the ecological paradigm have been set out in the programs of republic cost accounting. And this has been done not generally or as a whole, but rather in the form of specific tasks and instruments for their realization. Thus, the most difficult, protracted but vitally essential stage in reorienting the economy and all social life to the goals of human development and the conservation of nature has already commenced.

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DISCUSSIONS

Alienation Under Socialism (Roundtable Discussion of the Editorial Staff) [not translated]

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Stalinism in the Context of Historical Progress [not translated]

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TOWARD THE 12TH WORLD SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

Sociostructural Communities as Principals of Vital Activity [not translated]

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On the Path to New Thinking

905D0008H Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 89
pp 63-69

[Article by Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences and department head at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] An analysis of the process of the shaping of new political thinking which should institute common human standards and values in the relations between peoples and states, exclude violence in any of its forms and unite the various social forces in the struggle for humanistic progress and the survival of mankind is among the most important research tasks proposed by the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Raising the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Solving the Key Social Problems of Soviet Society."

The process of instituting the new thinking can be studied under the condition of viewing its content and forms in the closest linkage with perestroika as a whole. In essence, these are facets of a single approach to modern realities. Solving the internal problems of socialist renewal for our society should work to strengthen peace and good-neighbor relations between countries and for the sake of preserving and progress in human civilization. As was pointed out by M.S. Gorbachev in a report at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: "Perestroika in the Soviet Union cannot help but reflect on all our international activities but it also cannot be carried out in maintaining the former foreign policy" [1].

The problem of forming new thinking is one of the most important research subjects for the academy-wide program "Man—Science—Society." The appropriate questions hold a central place in the draft of the IS AN SSSR [Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences] "Social and Ideological Problems in Establishing the New Thinking."

At present, intensive debates are underway in the nation concerning socialism. Its current model which is the result of the activities of the command-administrative system of rule has led to profound deformations in our society. These deformations should be overcome in the course of perestroika in order to ensure the transition to a new model of socialism the basic contours of which were outlined at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Without anticipating the future in detail, it can be said with confidence that the new model of socialism will be characterized by a real humanism, an effective and dynamic economy, socialist social justice, authentic democracy, equality of all nations and nationalities as well as high culture and morality [2]. Such socialism can possess a great potential effect on world processes, including on the establishing of peace and civilized relations between all peoples and states.

However, the realization of the ideas of new political thinking requires significant effort and a consistent struggle against the forces which have not abandoned the dogmas of military power thinking and the principles hostile to peaceful coexistence and social progress and which wager on the arms race and military superiority over other countries. Thus, in a document prepared by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, the conclusion is drawn that even in the future there is no necessity for the complete destruction of nuclear weapons. The authors of the paper call merely for the ascertaining of an "optimum balance" between nuclear and conventional weapons (see [3]). This is a clear manifestation of the selfish interests of a certain portion of the monopolistic upper clique and which has gained the corresponding grounds in various sorts of concepts such as the theory of nuclear deterrents, flexible response, containment, and recently the so-called "competing strategies" designed for the long run to the 21st Century. These are based upon plans for waging a certain type of non-nuclear warfare employing modern equipment (see [4]).

Of course, this conservative current in bourgeois social science does not determine its entire appearance. In it there is also another line which reflects humanistic views and concepts. Precisely the latter creates the necessary prerequisites for greater mutual understanding and collaboration in the struggle for peace and human rights. We have merely to recall the remarkable manifesto of B. Russell and A. Einstein who urged mankind to eliminate international conflicts from political practice as fraught

with fatal consequences or the works of K. Jaspers, in particular, the book which gained world renown "The Atomic Bomb and the Future of Mankind," and in which he pointed out that "the old policy was based on the principle of a state of hostility and the promise of war. The new policy is based on the principle of the possibility of honest, reasonable coexistence and the promise of peace" [5].

(Of more than historical interest are certain ideas of the movement "Critical Research on the Problems of Peace" which became widespread in the West in the mid-1960s and within which there arose international and national institutes studying the problems of peace. In particular, the declaration of this movement "On the Present State of the Critical State of Peace" stated the need for social changes in a spirit of social justice and real democracy as prerequisites for an international world order. They stated directly that "the critical researchers of peace reject the study of peace oriented at the status quo and they are endeavoring to prevent political apathy and understand what is concealed behind the ideologically camouflaged conflicts" [6].

The works of the representatives of this school contain appeals to work out a "pedagogics of peace" in the aim of using the means of training and education to establish universal peace. Their rebirth and support can be a very beneficial thing on the level of a well reasoned justification for the necessity of new thinking and the propagandizing of its provisions primarily for the public of the Western countries.

We must also not overlook the works of the Club of Rome which contain appeals to "recognize the world problems" and understand the sources and consequences of the "crisis in human civilization." Thus, in the book by the now deceased president of this club, A. Peccet, "The Human Quality" the current state of the world was defined as "a special, all-encompassing epochal crisis which permeates all aspects of human life." In order not to allow a fatal end he urged for looking "beyond the interests of today's generations" and called for the "joint, collective, coordinated actions of different states and organizations" [7].

These theoretical approaches and positions with their correct interpretation can be employed for understanding common human threats and problems where a solution to them presupposes a comprehensive approach and the pooling of efforts under conditions where the world is divided by contradictions of a national, class and regional nature. Their analysis helps determine the social forces capable of waging a struggle for the survival of mankind, for humanization and the demilitarization of international relations, for developing new forms of the movement for peace, ecological security and nuclear disarmament.

Certainly, the problem situation is characterized not only by this. The establishing of new thinking in the mind of our nation's population is also not devoid of

contradictions. The path of new thinking is blocked by the "black and white" vision of the world which developed over many years, by the notion of an inevitable confrontation with the West, mistrust in its policies and intentions and stereotypes of the enemy. To this we must add the absence in our population of experience in direct contact with the inhabitants of other countries and the essential knowledge about the countries themselves, their past and present, their history and culture.

A poll conducted in the first half of 1989 of different categories of the employed population in Kuybyshev and Moscow showed an insufficient understanding on the part of certain population groups of a number of fundamental ideas and principles in the new political thinking.¹ For example, some 45 percent of the workers, 35 percent of the students and 18 percent of the television editors pointed directly to a difficulty in comprehending such a concept as "deideologization of international relations." The term "conversion of military production" was not understood by 31 percent of the representatives of the humanities intelligentsia, 26 percent of the students, 32 percent of the school pupils and so forth. In the process of the poll, a discrepancy was also discovered with certain concepts of the new thinking. The existing situation places increased demands on the activities of the mass information and propaganda media. A special word must be said about the activities of TASS and the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio] which currently have a monopoly right to foreign policy information. Their responsibility to the Soviet people is increasing particularly, including in solving the problems of establishing the new thinking. Some 39 percent of the questioned representatives of the humanities intelligentsia, 36 percent of the workers and 40 percent of the ideological aktiv noted their dissatisfaction with the materials of Central Television on international questions, and similar data were obtained on assessments of radio and newspaper activities. The miscomprehension or rejection of various provisions of the new political thinking can arouse active or passive resistance to it in certain groups of the public.

What are the main areas for studying the process of the shaping of the new thinking? As an object of research it would be advisable to ascertain the mass and group awareness of our nation's public, as well as its response to the new thinking. The subject of the research would be the trends in the change of mass and group awareness under the impact of the process of establishing the main components of the new thinking and the practical implementation of the Soviet foreign policy and defense initiatives. The corresponding scientific problem presupposes the necessity of the further elaboration of the concept of the new thinking and the ways of its establishment in the public mind in our nation and abroad on the basis of studying the interests, motives, incentives, estimates and values of various social communities, and disclosing the contradictions between the understanding of common human and class values on the theoretical

level and on the level of ordinary awareness. Certainly, the problem also has a serious practical aspect related to the necessity of actually involving the Soviet people in the process of taking foreign policy decisions, the need to work out recommendations for improving various forms of international mass communication, the restructuring of ideological work in this direction and creating an effectively operating mechanism for studying and considering public opinion on the most important aspects of international relations.

It is essential to emphasize that for a long time the elaboration and implementation of foreign policy was a concern for a narrow group of professional politicians while the basic mass of the public was assigned the role of extras who constantly approved everything conceived of above (the role of social scientists in essence was reduced to the same thing, namely commentary and propaganda of decision taken without their involvement).

A fundamental change in the status of the working masses in international affairs and the converting of them into a principal of the new, humanistic and essentially democratic thinking can be achieved only by creating the necessary conditions. This, in particular, would be aided by a constant broad and free discussion in the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet and in the mass information media.

In our opinion, the main tasks in studying the problem consist in the following:² studying the dynamics of establishing the new thinking in various social media; determining the optimum forms of worker involvement in resolving foreign policy questions; studying the system of values making up the structure of the new thinking and their reflection in mass and group awareness; disclosing the relationship of common human, class and national values; disclosing the particular features of the shaping of humanitarian values and an understanding of humanitarian problems under the conditions of perestroika; studying the estimates, judgments and actions relating to the sphere of international relations; studying the particular features of shaping the attitude toward other nations and peoples (the "we-them" relations); investigating the conditions which shape social stereotypes in the perceptions of states and peoples; forecasting the dynamics of the main elements of new thinking over the close and medium-term future; studying the information factors in shaping the new thinking, including: an analysis of the impact of glasnost on the level of information concerning the problems of new thinking; investigating the relationship of the level of information and the level of trust between the public of different countries; disclosing the forms and content of contact between people in the process of understanding and assimilating the ideas of new thinking; disclosing the scale of distribution of conservative-dogmatic views on international problems.

Let us endeavor to point out certain prospects for the shaping and establishing of the new thinking. Over the

next few years, under the impact of Soviet foreign policy and, in particular, the confidence-building measures, the fear of the USSR as a source of threat will cease to be a dominant theme in the Western mind. Anti-Sovietism will weaken. However, this will not involve the positions of such anti-Soviet and antisocialist organizations as the People's Labor Union, the Resistance International and others which view socialism as an "historical anomaly." This process will certainly not develop rectilinearly. Not only our peace-loving initiatives but also well-reasoned propaganda of the solving of humanitarian problems in our nation can play a special role in a positive impact on the public of the Western nations. The difficulties and setbacks of perestroika (particularly in terms of democratization and glasnost) are capable of strengthening a skeptical attitude on the part of certain circles in the West toward the new thinking.

The main obstacle on the path to the establishing of new thinking in the capitalist countries is the policy and ideology of the monopolistic circles linked to military-industrial production as well as the image of the USSR preserved and actively supported by the reactionary forces as an enemy and the myths of the Soviet military threat, military superiority, the age-old aggressiveness of Russia and "communist expansionism."

The social support for reactionary views and concepts is a certain portion of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and workers linked to the defense business or those under the influence of anticommunist and militaristic propaganda.

The emigres from the Soviet Union comprise a special group in the population of the Western nations. Positive shifts are occurring in their attitudes and view of the former motherland. The strengthening of contacts with it and an effective ideological impact (the explanation of Soviet foreign policy and the changes occurring within the nation) can make them active supporters and proponents of the ideas of new thinking. At the same time, a portion of the emigres remains fixed on anti-Soviet positions of indiscriminate running down and denying of perestroika.

There will be growing political activeness of a certain portion of the bourgeoisie in the Western countries (and its ideologists) which have set for themselves the goal of using the new situation in the world related to the abandoning of the dogmas of the Cold War, for changing socialism, for its "improvement" and merging with a "modernized" capitalism. A significant part of the Western public views perestroika in our nation as a return to the values of bourgeois democracy. For many, the differences between socialist and bourgeois democracy remain unclear.

In our nation the establishing of new thinking is impeded by the notions which have developed over the decades of the capitalist states as a constant source of military tension and conflicts, as an untrustworthy partner where the influencing of this partner requires powerful military potential and the absolutizing of the confrontational

model of interaction between the two social systems and class tasks to the detriment of human ones.

A definite negative role in the establishing of new thinking in our nation and the other socialist countries can be played by the mass penetration of the Western information sources into the information space of these nations, by their propagandizing of the status quo in social development and by the discrediting of socialism and perestroika.

The inadequate assessment of socialism and changes in the system of values shared by different population groups have a substantial impact on the perception of the new thinking and the attitude toward specific actions. In particular, the values are influenced by the deteriorating material conditions in the life of the people, by the increased prices, the scarcity of goods and services and the exacerbation of international relations. Here a negative role can also be played by the incorrect views of socialism as a social system and of its potential capabilities, by unconstructive criticism, by theoretical "shying away," by a nondialectical negation of the past and shortcomings in our propaganda.

Activating international contact and the exchange of spiritual values lead to increased intensity in the ideological clash in new forms which exclude "psychological warfare," fanaticism and intolerance and making a cult of the "image of the enemy." However, possible differences of opinion with the West in achieving various agreements (particularly in the military area) can give rise to (or intensify) mistrust on the part of a certain portion of the Soviet people in the potential of the new thinking and its prospects.

The greatest difficulty in assimilating and accepting the new thinking is found in the miscomprehension of the dialectics of the class and general human, particularly in terms of the revolutionary renewal of society. The greatest resistance to the spread of the new thinking can be put up by elderly persons who are under the sway of dogmatism, who are incapable (or who do not wish) to revise their former confrontational thinking inculcated over the years and decades. As a whole, the positions of social conservatism in the thinking of the various age groups of the public (particularly the elderly and middle-aged) are very strong and the overcoming of this will be complex and relatively extended. The young scientific and technical intelligentsia is the portion of the populus most susceptible to the new thinking.

Along with the ideological factors there are also psychological ones which impede the assimilation and adoption of the basic provisions and principles of the new thinking and its implementation in practice. In particular, in the preserving of the past stereotypes an important role is played by their "emotional support" and the related attitudes and experiences of the people. The latter in turn depend largely upon the overall ideological and sociopsychological situation in the nation and upon the

intensity of politicizing the consciousness of the different population groups. Abrupt shifts influence the emotional coloring of permanent notions and views, accelerating, on the one hand, the destruction of obsolete stereotypes and, on the other, evoking sharply negative emotions in those who cannot or do not wish to reassess their values and abandon the obsolete and out of date.

The establishing of the new thinking in the mass conscience depends directly upon a restructuring in the activities of the mass information and propaganda media, upon the effectiveness, completeness and persuasiveness of the information offered by them and upon their competitiveness under the conditions of a full freedom of broadcasting (and in the future television) in light of the demands of the Helsinki Agreements and the proposals of the London Information Forum (1989). More complete information on the response in the West to democratization and glasnost in our nation undoubtedly will play a positive role in disseminating the ideas of the new thinking.

One of the main problem of research is the elaboration of a system of indicators for the establishing of the new thinking. As such, it is possible to use indicators characterizing the goals of the new thinking, the means of their realization, potential opportunities and both the verbal and the real attitude of the various population groups to the new thinking. A relatively independent group is made up of indicators characterizing the fundamental values of a socialist society and objectively included in the ideological clash of the two systems. This clash is acquiring more and more the nature of the opposition of images of persons under different social conditions (and not only the clash of ideas, views and concepts).

The deideologization of international relations does not mean the abandonment of the existing system of values by any side. The current turning point in world history presupposes an intensification of spiritual exchange, an active, competitive comparison which excludes confrontation for what has been achieved and planned as well as the search for points of contact, areas of convergence and understanding.

Footnotes

1. Some 1,200 persons were questioned representing different categories of the employed population: workers, engineers, technicians and representatives of the humanities intelligentsia. As control groups, we questioned the editors of republic and oblast television and radio broadcasting which were being trained at the All-Union Institute for Advanced Training of Radio and Television Workers Under the USSR Gosteleradio.

2. A special group of research tasks is comprised of a range of social problems and contradictions arising over the unilateral reduction of the USSR Armed Forces and the conversion of military production. The increased scale of the latter has the principles of the new thinking are implemented increases the importance of the prompt and scientifically sound economic and social planning.

This should encompass such questions as the release of employees at defense enterprises, their vocational retraining, job placement, providing of housing, organizing the use of military equipment in the national economy and so forth. Sociologists should be involved in this work on equal footing with economists, military specialists, lawyers and representatives from the other sciences.

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Dynamics of Leisure Contact [not translated]

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EMPLOYMENT, PERSONNEL TURNOVER, ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

Is There a Labor Surplus in Central Asia?

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pp 74-79

[Article by Galina Fedorovna Morozova, candidate of economic sciences, senior science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. She is the author of the monograph "Regionalnyye osobennosti migratsionnykh protsessov v SSSR" [Regional Features of Migration Processes in the USSR] (1986, co-author). Our journal has published her article "Experience of Sociological Research on Population Migration in the Far East" (No 2, 1976, co-author)]

[Text] There is the widespread opinion that the Central Asian Region has a labor surplus. This opinion has become accepted, although it is far from indisputable. It

is based upon data concerning the high birthrate in the region and the supposedly too rapid growth of the working age population which has outstripped the availability of jobs.

At first glance, such a viewpoint is confirmed by the statistics. For example, in Tajikistan, in 1981-1986, the labor resources rose by 16.9 percent, while the number of persons employed in social production or involved in studies increased only by 13.7 percent; the number of persons not employed in social production over this same period also rose and by 1986 had reached 234,000 persons [1, pp 63-64]. A similar trend was also found in the other Central Asian Republics, and this has been mentioned at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. In particular, it was pointed out that in Uzbekistan the number of unemployed in the nationalized economy reached 760,000 persons [2]. As a whole for the territory of the Central Asian Republics, there were around 2 million persons unemployed in nationalized production in 1988, or 13 percent of the working-age population.

The presence of this contingent has also created the opinion of the labor surplus in Central Asia. It seems to us that to a large degree it is based upon an incorrect identification of the concepts of "employment" and "employment in the state sector of the national economy."

For example, in Fergana Oblast, where the population is over 1 million, some 263,000 of the working-age population is not employed in nationalized production, including 12,000 unemployed (or 4.6 percent of the total number of unemployed in nationalized production) [3]. How many unemployed are there in the oblast?

At the same time, in relying on the obsolete concept of employment in the nationalized (state) sector of the economy, it is assumed that in the 13th Five-Year Plan, this contingent—unemployed in nationalized production—will increase. For example, just in Tajikistan, according to the forecast estimates, some 130,000 persons will additionally be involved in nationalized production, that is, around 1/2 of the entire unemployed working-age population [1, p 65].

It has repeatedly been proposed that until the end of the century Central Asia will maintain a high increase in the working-age population and limited opportunities for putting it to work in the sphere of nationalized production due to the low increase in the number of jobs.

It is impossible to agree with this as the researchers like it or not have proceeded from the assumption that the nation's economy in the future will develop along extensive lines with an excessive centralization of national economic management.

The extended development of the national economy on an extensive basis has occurred with an underestimation of the quality of the labor force. In other words, the latter has been viewed as a passive component in the production process. Such an approach has presupposed the

filling out of labor resources through a territorial or intersectoral redistribution by directive instructions. Here no consideration has been given to the educational level of the people, their vocational and skill training, demographic characteristics, nationality and ethnocultural features or the ability to adapt to new natural, social and production conditions.

The underestimating of these factors has caused the departure of worker personnel and the maintaining of a labor resource deficit, an increase in the unemployed population and an exacerbation of the problem of job placement. In both instances, the "resource" approach has led to disproportions between the amount of the labor resources and the number of jobs and this has given rise to the above-named problems.

The dividing of the nation's regions into labor-short (the North, Siberia and Far East) and labor-surplus (the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus) is largely an outgrowth of the administrative methods of economic management which gained predominance in the 1920s and 1930s. At precisely that time, the interests of society were replaced by the interests of the sectors and departments. This was expressed in the playing down of the rights of the republics and imposing on them directions and rates of development in the economy which derived from the plans and strategies of the sectors and the departments and not from the production potential and national features existing in the republics [4]. Such a policy led to the irrational utilization of labor forces and to the increased demand of the regions for additional manpower.

The problem of employment of the population in Central Asia must also be viewed from this angle. There must be adjustments in the assessment of the labor surplus as at the present stage they have still not exhausted the opportunities for using the natural

resources and production potential of the Central Asian Republics for increasing the employment of the working-age population.

There are several ways for resolving the problem of employment for the population: developing new lands; an intra- and intersectoral reallocation of labor resources in favor of the labor-intensive industrial sectors; the broad involvement of the unemployed rural population into labor-intensive jobs based on local raw materials and the development of folk and artistic crafts.

The construction of the designated facilities in rural localities in and of itself will require the attraction of additional workers. This also brings about the development of a production infrastructure in the countryside and this in turn, substantially broadens the opportunity to employ the labor of the unemployed rural population. A significant portion of the rural inhabitants, in being involved in social production, continues to live under customary conditions.

The demand for a labor force also arises in moving enterprises into the small- and medium-sized towns, urban-type settlements and the centers of rural regions. And this can be satisfied from local labor resources. Thus, even now in these population points, some 98 percent of the personnel at the industrial enterprises is recruited from the local residents [5, p 122].

The socioeconomic development of the region has caused an increased demand for manpower and at a more rapid pace in the nonproduction sectors, as here there are fewer possibilities for replacing humans with machines. At the same time, the development of the social sphere in the Central Asian Republics has lagged greatly behind the other regions of the USSR.

Let us examine certain important indicators for the standard of living in the Central Asian Republics in comparison with republics where these indicators are the best (Table 1).

Table 1: Individual Indicators for Standard of Living in Certain Republics of the Nation in 1987 [6]

Republics	Retail Trade Turnover	Average Monthly Wage	Available Housing Area	Number of Physicians
USSR	1206	202.9	15.2	43.3
RSFSR	1322	216.1	15.1	46.3
Belorussia	1337	190.0	16.7	39.1
Lithuania	1480	204.1	18.1	44.3
Latvia	1722	208.9	18.9	49.3
Estonia	1853	229.0	20.8	47.9
Uzbekistan	720	169.7	11.3	34.7
Kirghizia	811	171.4	11.4	35.1
Tajikistan	648	165.9	8.9	27.2
Turkmenia	825	198.4	10.3	34.7

Note: The following indicators have been used—1) per capita retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade, (rubles); 2) average monthly wages of manual and white collar workers (rubles); 3) average housing area available per inhabitant (m^2); 4) number of doctors per thousand inhabitants.

The given values for the standard of living indicators show the need to develop the social sphere in the Central Asian Republics. The latter can absorb a larger portion of the increase in the working-age population both in the rural and urban settlements. For example, in Tajikistan, the development of the social infrastructure up to the average Union level will make it possible to increase employment by 350,000-400,000 persons [7]. The social sphere is marked by a certain flexibility in the sense of the differentiated involvement of labor (an incomplete workday, incomplete work week, labor at home and so forth). These types of employment to the greatest degree correspond to the demographic specific features of the region.

There is one other important aspect which must be clarified. There must also be adjustments in the notion of the high birthrate in Central Asia in the foreseeable future [7]. Often this opinion is based on the use of the rough birthrate indicators (general coefficients) which actually in Central Asia are stable or even growing. However, this stability and growth are deceptive and are explained by changes in the marital and age structure of the population exclusively. If we employ more adequate indicators and particularly the total birthrate coefficients, then it turns out that the birthrate level in women of the Central Asian indigenous nationalities is dropping rather quickly (Table 2).

Table 2: Total Coefficients for Birthrate Among Women of Indigenous Nationalities for Certain Union Republics, per 1,000 Women [9]

Republics	Urban Population			Rural Population		
	1969-1970	1978-1979	1978-1979 to 1969-1970	1969-1970	1978-1979	1978-1979 to 1969-1970
RSFSR	1680	1669	0.989	2210	2293	1.038
Belorussia	2082	1879	0.902	2672	2520	0.943
Uzbekistan	5775	4292	0.743	7917	7090	0.896
Kirghizia	5881	4298	0.731	8129	7352	0.904
Tajikistan	7224	4835	0.669	7591	6030	0.794
Turkmenia	6944	5581	0.804	8029	7078	0.881

The data of Table 2 show that among the Tajik women living in cities over the 9 years (between 1969-1970 and 1978-1979), the total birthrate coefficient declined from 7.224 to 4.835, or by 33.1 percent, and for those living in rural areas by 20.6 percent.

In the 1980s, the process of a drop in the birthrate in the Central Asian Republics has continued. Thus, as a whole over the period from 1978-1979 through 1986-1987, the total birthrate coefficient has declined by 9.9 percent in Turkmenia, by 9.0 percent in Uzbekistan, by 6.4 percent in Kirghizia and 4.9 percent in Tajikistan (calculated from [9, p 22]).

There is every reason to assume that this process will accelerate in the near future (the Central Asian Republics are entering the next phase of demographic transition, as has already occurred in Armenia and Azerbaijan). Thus, the influence of the demographic factor on the labor surplus in this region will begin to lessen in the not distant future.

It is also essential to change the notion of optimum female employment in the country in nationalized production generally and in Central Asia in particular. It is time to realize that the household is a part of the social economy and employment in it is employment in social production. In Central Asia, around 40 percent of the women not employed in social production are mothers with large families. It is scarcely possible to consider them "nonparticipating labor resources."

It is essential to consider that the educational and skill level of a significant portion of the women employed in the household is low. For example, in Tajikistan these are 64 percent [10]. For this reason, the opportunity for using them as a labor force is very limited, all the more as in a number of national economic sectors they now basically require highly skilled workers.

In addition, it is essential to consider employment in the household and private subsidiary farms. The population employed in the household and the private subsidiary farm must not be viewed uniformly as labor surplus, as it makes a major contribution to supplying the republic inhabitants with food products. In Tajikistan, precisely this sphere of activity produces around 1/4 of the gross agricultural product and up to 40 percent of the food. In 1986, the proportional amount of the product produced on the private subsidiary farms of this republic were: 55 percent in fruit production, 42 percent for vegetables, 40 percent for meat and 49 percent for milk [11]. The private subsidiary farms occupy 1 percent of the republic agricultural land and approximately 6 percent of the irrigated area. In Tashkent Oblast, where just 2.5 percent of the plowed lands is employed on the private subsidiary farms, these produce 27 percent of the potatoes, vegetables and melon crops, 35 percent of the meat and 55 percent of the milk [12]. These examples are proof of the high productiveness of the private subsidiary farms and the labor of the workers employed in this sphere must be qualified as socially useful and necessary.

Recognition of this fact has been reflected in the radical economic reform which provides for the extensive development of the cooperative movement, individual labor activity, the family contract, leasing and so forth. We feel that the new approach in the view of the various types of employment for the population will lead to a reassessment of the problem of the labor surplus in the Central Asian Region.

A characteristic trait of the rural population in the Central Asian Republics is the low migration activity (the intensity of migration by the rural population which basically consists of representatives of the indigenous nationalities is 4-5-fold less than the urban dwellers of this region). This feature partially explains the fact that in Central Asian rural localities is to be found over $\frac{2}{3}$ of the working-age population not employed in social production. A significant portion of this contingent is employed in the household and on the private subsidiary farm. In the 1980s, there was an increased number of persons employed in this sphere of activity.

In the scientific literature and periodical press this phenomenon is given basically a negative judgment, since all persons employed in the household and the private subsidiary farm are viewed as potential labor resources. Since the industrial enterprises of the cities experience an acute manpower need, the settling of the working-age population in this sphere is viewed as one of the factors holding back the economic development of the region.

In migration policy aimed at a rational redistribution of the population and labor resources, an important place is assigned to interregional migration. There is the opinion that it is essential to help strengthen the redistribution of the indigenous, basically rural population outside the region. A number of variations has been proposed among which, in the opinion of D.I. Zyuzin, the most acceptable is the resettlement of approximately 40 percent of the annual increase in the labor resources of Central Asia into the labor-short regions of the Russian Federation [13]. Such an approach to solving the problem of employment for the population is debatable. The importance and utility of interregional migration as a result of which there are qualitative changes in the educational, vocational and cultural-technical level of the population and labor resources are indisputable. However, the proposed variation for moving the population between regions does not sufficiently consider the interests of people. A "resource" approach to man at the present stage of economic development is unacceptable. Also overlooked is the structure of the unemployed population in the Central Asian Republics which, as was pointed out above, is made up basically of women. Hence, the proposed scale of migration and its effectiveness are debatable.

There are also other arguments against activating interregional migration. The examined variation does not provide a demand for labor resources which is linked to

the long-range development of the economy in the Central Asian Region itself. Moreover, the possibility of effectively drawing a labor force from Central Asia into the other regions of the nation is limited, as the introduction of new management methods leads to a release and redistribution of their own labor resources. Broadening the scale of construction for industrial enterprises in the labor-intensive sectors in rural localities as well as in the small- and medium-sized towns of the Central Asian Republics and the development of a production and social infrastructure in them will increase the demand for a labor force and this can come from attracting migrants, primarily floating workers [lit. pendulum]. Simultaneously, the scale interregional migration will change. Migration into other regions is also a tactic of yesterday and now it is essential to work out long-range strategic plans, where the migratory processes would be correlated to the development prospects of the entire national economy. At the present stage, priority belongs to floating migration as it not only provides the balanced and rational utilization of the labor resources in the city and countryside but also contributes to the development of social mobility in the population and to a change in the social structure of rural inhabitants. For the Central Asian Population, this process is particularly important since only the development of social and economic mobility can lead to an intensification of its territorial mobility by a natural means.

Let us sum up:

- 1) The notion of the labor surplus in Central Asia requires a revision on the basis of a careful analysis of the balance calculations of labor resources;
- 2) it is essential to change the attitude toward the private subsidiary farm and persons employed in this sphere must be considered employed in socially useful labor;
- 3) The migration policy in the Central Asian Region must be carried out on a differentiated basis and the potential migrants here are primarily the young people endeavoring to improve their educational and vocational level as well as persons having a high educational level but tied down in the household and the private subsidiary farm (with the exception of women with large families);
- 4) The development of floating migration, in contributing to the social mobility of the population in the Central Asian Republics, leads to accelerated development of its territorial mobility.

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Seasonal Migration of Construction Workers

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[Article by Marina Andrianovna Shabanova, candidate of economic sciences, science associate at the Institute for the Economics and Organization of Industrial Production Under the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time she appears in our journal]

[Text] Each year, millions of persons seek out seasonal work. These persons are termed differently and include moonlighters, leavers, seasonal workers, wild brigades and free hired brigades. The attitude toward them also varies.

After the promulgation of the Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 15 May 1986 "On Systematizing

the Organization of Labor and Wages of Temporary Construction Brigades" and which, in particular, pointed out that "such brigades with the correct organizing of their activities make a definite contribution to economic, housing and cultural-service construction [1], the appeals to stop the "leavers" have died down. However, the seasonal role and the consequences of seasonal labor movements still wait to be analyzed.

In actuality, why year after year do people leave their families and friends for 5 or even 7 months? What is the social make-up of these people? How do these trips tell on their socioprofessional advancement, on the choice of vocation and the realization of other vital plans? Seasonal earnings are linked to the necessity of satisfying what requirements? Our research¹ does not provide an exhaustive answer to the listed questions. We will examine only certain aspects of unorganized seasonal migration.

The chief motive for traveling for seasonal work (95.6 percent of the respondents) was the desire to earn properly. This shows that in the places of permanent residence of the seasonal construction workers there was no opportunity for additional earnings. In actuality, in the Western Ukraine, in the Transcaucasus Republics and in the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, natives of which comprise the basic portion (77 percent) of the respondents, there is a labor resource reserve, particularly in rural localities and the small- and medium-sized towns. An absolute majority of the respondents lives here: 67 percent in rural rayons and 23 percent in small towns. For this reason, it is no accident that almost 2/5 of the seasonal construction workers from the southern republics noted difficulties in finding employment at their place of residence, particularly in their specialty. In these regions the labor load factor per average annual worker in agriculture is substantially behind the average Union level. As a consequence of this there are comparatively low wages particularly in regions with a high birthrate. Seasonal labor migration makes it possible to substantially increase earnings and according to our data, the proportional amount of construction workers satisfied with the level of their income rises from 4 to 65 percent.

Another group of motives is linked to a desire to more fully realize oneself, to the desire of seeing new places, choosing a new place of residence, or working with relatives (a father, brothers or husband). Some young construction workers arrive from the Transcaucasus to a Siberian village in order to be admitted to the Siberian higher institutions of learning.

The specific goals and the frequency of seasonal trips depend upon many factors: age, family status, number and age of children, attitude toward national traditions (wedding, migrational and other), the nature of vocational training and so forth. For this reason, before moving on to an examination of the role of seasonal migration in the life of the different groups of its participants, let us describe the composition of the latter.

According to the data of our study, the age of seasonal migrants at the moment of their first trip averaged 27.4 years. In almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of those questioned their age did not exceed 25 years, and in 70 percent it was 30 years, that is, an age when usually a family is founded (or its creation is planned) and new material concerns arise (Table 1). The lower age limit of the respondents was 16 years (they were just 3 percent). The transition to a universal secondary education having brought the completion of school closer to induction into the army, noticeably raised the lower age limit of the seasonal migrants. At the moment of the survey, among the seasonal construction workers there were no 16-year-olds at all, while the share of 17- and 18-year-olds was insignificant, respectively 0.4 and 1.3 percent.

Table 1: Age Composition of Seasonal Migrants (at Moment of Poll)

Age (Years)	Share, in %	Including	
		Coming for First Time	Migrants With Previous Experience
17-20	3	0	3
21-25	4	40	19
26-30	26	2	28
31-40	23	20	25
41-50	16	8	20
51 and older	8	0	0

Thus, at present people who have completed secondary school, as a rule, are included in the seasonal migration. It often happens that parents take along adult school children with them for earnings, but this is a rarity. In a way, the seasonal workers are marked by a relatively high educational level in comparison with local construction workers. Some 63 percent of the respondents had completed grades 10-11, 22 percent grade 9, 7.5 percent grade 8, 4 percent had completed grades 5-6, 3.5 percent had completed 4 and less grades. For comparison, let us point out that according to the data of other research, only 1 out of every 4 local construction workers has a secondary education and $\frac{1}{4}$ have an incomplete secondary education.

We did not have sufficient information to thoroughly assess the effect of the seasonal trips on the choice of a profession (specialty). But the information which we do possess places in doubt the assertion that trips "for moonlighting" are an obstacle for obtaining other professions aside from construction ones. At the moment of the poll, almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the respondents possessed these. Basically they are industrial and transport workers. Over time the profession of construction worker becomes the main one for a portion of them. The possibility of earning significantly more than in the previous specialty has a crucial influence on the choice.

Participation of women in the moonlighter brigades is a great rarity and according to our data they are 2.2

percent. Basically, they are cooks who are representatives of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus and inhabitants of the Western Ukraine who have learned construction professions.

For obtaining a sociodemographic portrait of a seasonal construction worker, those questioned were grouped by the following features: age, family status, number of juvenile children, and the presence of nonworking adult family members. In accord with these criteria, seven groups were established.

Group I (25.6 percent of the total number questioned) was represented by unmarried young people. All the respondents live with their parents, and an absolute majority has brothers and sisters. The average family size is 5.2 persons, and for almost half it is even higher, running to 13 persons. The proportional amount of families having nonworking adult members within them is a maximum here (2/3).

Group II (25.6 percent) also consists of young persons but who have already established their families. Almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of those questioned has 1 child and 40 percent has 2-4. A predominant majority of the representatives from this group (71 percent) live separately from the parents. Naturally, the average family size here is smaller with 4.3 persons. Regardless of the absence of representatives of the older generations in a majority of the families, 60 percent of the respondents had nonworking adults, as a rule, women with young children.

Group III (15 percent) included respondents from 30 to 39 years of age with 1-2 children. The proportional amount of single-generation families in this group reaches 91 percent, while the share of families with nonworking adults, on the contrary, is minimal and this, evidently, is determined by the higher employment than in Group II for women in social production (the children are already going to school). In terms of the average family size (3.8 persons) the given group holds the penultimate position; it basically consists of natives from the Western Ukraine and Altay Krai.

Group IV (9.3 percent) differs from the previous only in the number of children for the respondents and each of them has from 3 to 7. All the representatives of this group are natives from the southern republics. The proportional amount of single-generation families here is also high (81 percent), but the share of families with nonworking adult members is almost double the amount in Group III. In terms of the average family size (5.9 persons), this group is only behind group VI.

The three last groups included respondents from the older working ages (40-49 years and over) having underage children (24.5 percent). **Group V** (8.8 percent) is made up of persons questioned with 1 or 2 children. **Group VI** (10 percent) includes respondents from families with a maximum—from 3 to 15—number of children. In $\frac{1}{2}$ of the families there are nonworking adults who take care of the children and manage the large household. Over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the representatives of the group is

Table 3: Goals of Using Money Earned in Seasonal Work, %*

Proposed Expenditures	Sociodemographic Groups of Seasonal Construction Workers**						
	17-29 Years		30-39 Years		40-49 Years		50 Years and Over
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Furniture, color TV, carpets	14	16	41	24	20	13	—
Tape recorder, high-fashion clothing, tourist trips	41	24	50	14	35	—	—
For children's wedding	—	—	6	10	30	44	23
Other aid to children	—	12	12	43	50	57	31
Savings for future	33	38	44	38	70	44	62
For own wedding	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
For current consumption	2	9	9	5	10	22	8
Aid to parents	19	5	—	—	—	—	—

* Each respondent could mark several positions simultaneously.

** See note to Table 2.

As was already mentioned, a significant portion of those questioned (42 percent) tries to make savings. This is particularly important for those who are unable to find a job in the place of permanent residence. The representatives of the mentioned group intend to participate in seasonal migration as long as their health permits. Furthermore, as some participants in the process grow older their place is taken by maturing children. Characteristically, Groups IV-VI have virtually no novices while in Group I their proportional amount reaches 52 percent, 31 percent in Group II and 27 percent in Group III. The constant replacement of the seasonal migrants by involving in the process the younger generation which cannot settle its material problems at the place of permanent residence also shows the permanency of seasonal migration in the life of the population of a number of the nation's regions. According to the data of our poll just 28 percent of the respondents had come for seasonal work for the first time, 27 percent had worked 2 or 3 seasons, 17 percent had worked 4 or 5, 15 percent had worked 6-9 and 13 percent from 11 to 26 seasons. An absolute majority (59 percent) of the construction workers intended to participate subsequently in the seasonal work and only 16 percent planned to stop this, while the remainder at the moment of the poll had not decided their plans.

Thus, regardless of the varying attitude toward seasonal migration, it is constantly resumed and will be resumed, as year after year a situation is reproduced when in certain regions a portion of the population is "driven out" for seasonal earnings, while in others a demand remains for the labor of newcomers.

As for the negative attitude toward this phenomenon on the part of a portion of society, to a significant degree it is related to the failure to resolve a number of socioeconomic problems of seasonal labor. The drive for quantity to the detriment of quality, the large number of incomplete projects and bad jobs left to the local construction

workers, the increased load factor on the local work superintendents in exercising control functions, and the increasing various forms of asocial conduct at the site of the seasonal jobs—these are the main complaints against the seasonal workers. At the same time, the leaders and specialists from the enterprises using the seasonal labor have pointed out that the brigades coming continuously to the same area build better. For this reason, special measures such as a system of long-term (for 3-5 years) labor contracts reinforced by material, length-of-employment and other benefits encouraging their concluding, the establishing of cooperatives of seasonal construction workers and so forth, could fundamentally improve the situation. Is this possible? In relying on the results of the research, I feel that it is a completely feasible task to make the brigades of migrant construction workers stable in each specific region.

The research conducted certainly does not exhaust all the questions related to seasonal labor migration. In particular, it is essential to have a more profound analysis of its social consequences. It is an indisputable fact that these are not always positive. Thus, according to the data of the survey, 1 out of 6 respondents considered the great overfatigue and the deteriorated state of health as among the most important problems of seasonal migration. One-quarter of those questioned stated that their families were against their trips. This list could be continued. Clearly, the need has arisen for conducting special research on the social problems of seasonal workers in the places of their permanent residence, in pooling the efforts of specialists from different regions in analyzing this still little-studied type of migration.

Footnote

1. One of the rural rayons in the south of Western Siberia was the empirical object of research and it had average indicators for socioeconomic development and the availability of personnel. Each year, around 700 seasonal

workers arrive at its construction projects on an unorganized basis. Their number approximately equals the total number of employees (of all sectors) arriving here for permanent residence. The poll covered around 1/3 of the seasonal construction workers: 31 percent of the respondents came from the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, 24 percent from the Transcaucasus Republics, 22 percent from the Western Ukraine, 20 percent from nearby towns and villages, and 3 percent from other places. The seasonal brigades were chosen on two grounds: the area of permanent residence and the type of enterprise with which a contract had been concluded. In the selected brigades, all the workers were questioned.

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FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES

Perception of Newspaper Vocabulary by the Youth [not translated]

(XXXXXXXX) Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 89 pp 85-88

Reader Passions of the 1960s [not translated]

(XXXXXXXX) Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 89 pp 89-91

PUBLIC FORUM OF THE SCIENTIST

True Optimism Is Based on Realism

(XXXXXXXX) Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 89 pp 92-95

[Article by Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya, academician and president of the Soviet Sociological Association and director of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Economic and Social Questions Under the AUCCTU and the USSR Goskomtrud. She is the author of the monographs "Migratsiya selskogo naseleniya" [Migration of Rural Population] (1970), "Razvitiye selskikh poseleniy" [The Development of Rural Settlements] (1977), "Metodologiya i metodika izucheniya sovetskoy derevno" [Methodology and Methods of Studying the Soviet Countryside] (1980), "Sotsialno-ekonomicheskoye razvitiye sibirskogo sela" [The Socioeconomic Development of the Siberian Village] (1987) and others. She has been repeatedly published in our journal]

[Text] The active participation of scientists in political life is one of the vivid examples of perestroyka. The standard of a civilized society is replacing the rather unassuming

formula of "scientific support for social management." Each scientist has the right not only to have his own view of one or another problem, but also to defend it in the process of taking managerial decisions. For social scientists this principle, in addition to this, is a standard of professional ethics. For their ideas and conclusions involve the fates of many, many people and the silence of science costs society too much.

Of course, the state of social sciences, and in particular sociology, is far from meeting those tasks which perestroyka has posed for them. All the same, the scientists do have something to say to their fellow citizens. The finest representatives of the humanitarian intelligentsia have won their recognition not only by profound scientific search but also by an active and uncompromising struggle for the renewal of our society. Proof of this is the electing of many prominent humanitarian social scientists, including sociologists, as USSR people's deputies and their promotion to among the leaders of the movements in support of perestroyka.

To acquaint the readers with the opinion of a scientist and citizen and to relate the participation of sociologists in sociopolitical life and how they are defending and realizing their ideas and proposals—these are the main tasks of the new heading "Public Forum of the Scientist." This is opened by an article of the USSR People's Deputy and Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya. The text is based on a speech which Tatyana Ivanovna proposed giving at the First Congress of the USSR People's Deputies.

Recently much has been said about how the social sphere of our society lags particularly strongly behind present-day demands. Its crisis state is determined by a number of factors. First of all, as a result of the decades of stagnation, many problems have built up requiring an immediate solution. If one were to rank these problems depending on what share of the population insists upon their primary solution, they would stand as follows: environmental pollution (87 percent), a shortage and poor quality of food (82 percent), housing shortage (79 percent), a narrow assortment and poor quality of industrial goods (74 percent), injustice in the distribution of goods (73 percent) and a high level of retail prices (67 percent).

It is scarcely possible to solve the named problems gradually, one by one, as they are so acute. But the state at present is incapable of moving simultaneously in all directions. Moreover, the problems which have built up over the decades at present are supplemented by new ones, at times even more acute. A majority of these has arisen as a result of the restructuring of economic relations. Here one could put the liberating of hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers from the spheres of administration and production, the growing socioeconomic differentiation of the social groups, the forming of poles of poverty and wealth which are more obvious in

society than before, the exacerbating of interethnic relations and increased crime. These problems can be handled only on the basis of a strong and at the same time internally balanced social policy.

The development of glasnost has contributed to a significantly more profound understanding by the people of the severity of the crisis being lived through by society. In this context, the difficulties and problems which previously were fraught only with passive dissatisfaction and sharp anecdotes now are causing a completely different response. Political meetings and demonstrations have not only become part of society's life, but also there are well-organized strikes and other forms of protest. Under the difficult conditions of perestroika, when the situation of some groups is deteriorating and others are gaining greater opportunities for flourishing, the human masses become uncontrollable, "hot-headed" and sometimes even "explosive." In this situation, social administration is turned into one of the most complex types of political activity and the fate of the nation depends on its effectiveness.

Finally, one major problem is the large budget deficit and the significant external debt which sharply restrict the volume of financial and material resources which can be channeled into social needs. At the same time, the carrying out of such social tasks as broadening housing construction and improving its quality, increasing the wages of the lowly-paid strata of the population and pensions, providing the population with high-quality goods, the purifying of the water, air and soil and accelerating of social development in the countryside require very significant amounts of money. Possibly, a particular acuteness in the situation derives from the fact that people are tired of waiting and have lost faith in the promises of the leaders to improve the situation over the near future. The authority of the party and the state has declined and is continuing to fall. More and more often one hears that it was easier to live before perestroika as there were more goods and prices were lower. In this situation it is essential to convince people that, regardless of the obvious deterioration in many spheres, strategically perestroika meets their interests and should provide a qualitative improvement in life. I am convinced that under the existing circumstances, each ruble intelligently invested into the social sphere is capable of producing an economically high return. But, unfortunately, there are not sufficient funds for satisfying the most urgent social needs. Under these conditions, there is a particular rise in the role of that subjective position which is held by social groups interested in changes in the social sphere.

The causes of the crisis being lived through by Soviet society undoubtedly are of a social nature. They consist in the mass alienation of people from social goals and values, including highly productive labor. In order to emerge from the crisis, it is essential to overcome this alienation and see to it that people consciously and willingly take part in transforming their own life, using their entire creative and intellectual potential for this. It

is important that social conscience become an active factor in the renewal and development of everyday life. At the same time, in its nature, social conscience is rather conservative and in an age of revolutionary changes, as a rule, it plays not an accelerating role in social development but rather a restraining one.

In terms of the current situation in social conscience, it is possible to isolate the following conservative aspects: the burdening down with dogmas and erroneous ideological platitudes; the prevalence of primitively leveling values over the values of truly skillful labor; the parasitic expectation of help from the "all-powerful" state; a clearly expressed group nationality, local and departmental egoism; a low political culture and social aggressiveness; tolerance of such phenomena as petty thievery, impoliteness and so forth.

How is this specifically expressed? First of all, by the ideological dogmas one can explain the inadequate perception of social realities. Among these one must put, in particular, the existence and growth of unemployment and a level of social guarantees that is significantly less in comparison with the developed capitalist states. Over a long period of time in the USSR there has been high employment of the working-age population and frequently this was determined not so much by production needs as by the social necessity of guaranteeing labor for anyone who wanted to work. At the enterprises and on the staffs of the organizations there were millions of employees who did not bring any noticeable benefit. Their reduction could lead only to a gain, but since their "labor" was paid for by a generous state, such ballast did not influence the economy of the enterprise.

The introduction of self-financing has markedly changed the situation. At present, the collectives are endeavoring to rid themselves of the ballast. Further changes in the economic relations should lead to an acceleration of technical progress, the elimination of enterprises and areas of labor operating at a loss and to the release of superfluous workers. It is important that the people be psychologically ready for a possible reduction in the number of jobs, for the necessity of finding a new job, for retraining and for changing the sphere of employment and profession. Many will have to accept less interesting, less prestigious and more poorly paid jobs. Some of them will not find any work at all which is to their liking, in other words, they will remain unemployed for a certain time.

Is social conscience ready for a correct perception of these problems? Is a majority of the people aware that the situation in the employment sphere is even now different than before and in the future will merely become more complicated and that the demands placed on the workers by the national economy will change correspondingly? The results of public opinion polls carried out by the VTsIOM [All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion] provide rather negative answers to these questions. In truth, the people are rather well informed of the cutbacks in personnel which have

commenced and one out of every two respondents had already personally encountered this process and 4/5 knew of it from friends and colleagues. The managerial workers were better informed than the others about this (85-87 percent) and least so the workers of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses (78 percent).

The notions of the further fate of those being dismissed are still optimistic. One-half of those questioned assumes that those dismissed will find equal jobs without any particular difficulty or, in undergoing slight retraining, will go to work in other specialties. A third of the respondents thinks that the dismissed workers will either take less skilled or more poorly paid jobs or move into jobs in a cooperative or in the sphere of individual labor activity. Only 19 percent allowed the notion that a portion of them, at least for some time, would remain without work and permanent income. The mentioned notions are closely linked to answers to the question of the probability and the possibility of the rise of unemployment in the USSR. As is known, in the nation there are a number of labor-surplus areas. The increase in the number of jobs has not kept pace with the high natural increase in the population characteristic of these regions. As a result, the share of the unemployed population has been increasing and this is, incidentally, one of the reasons for the exacerbation of interethnic relations. Regardless of this, 58 percent of those questioned feel that unemployment in the USSR is fundamentally inadmissible and impossible while 17 percent see that it could occur only as a temporary limited phenomenon. Only 13 percent of those questioned shared the opinion that modern production needs not only a skilled labor force but also a mobile one, and a definite portion should be constantly in the reserve (for example, undergo retraining, participate in individual labor activity, the raising of children and so forth). This shows the unpreparedness of social awareness to accept the employment situation which will soon be upon us. The ideological stereotype according to which unemployment is impossible in our country entails a social danger as with the first collision with life it inevitably will collapse and it will be difficult for people to live through the related disappointment. Possibly we must introduce more pessimistic but realistic notions of the social processes. In order that these prevail we must completely abandon the embellishing of social reality. Beginning with the school desk, the children and juveniles must be given an objective and accurate portrait of that society in which they will live.

Another serious problem is the orientation prevailing in the public of leveling values and the far-from-rare identification of social justice with social equality. We largely owe such a view to science which for a long time asserted that the USSR has created a uniform, even a completely uniform society, where social differences between all strata and groups are obliterated. As a result, many people at present prefer splitting up a small "pie" evenly than a large one in different proportions. Research of public opinion clearly shows this. Thus, a significant

portion of the population is not satisfied with the increased differences in the prosperity of individual groups. To the question of who actually gains from the changes occurring in the nation, the respondents mentioned most frequently the cooperative members, leaseholders, swindlers and intriguers. One of the manifestations of leveling attitudes is the notion of depriving the leadership of all privileges, regardless of the volume and effectiveness of the work done by the leaders (such an opinion was voiced by from 25 to 42 percent of the respondents). As for such values as creative labor, ownership of the means of production, the possibility of entrepreneurship activity, economic freedom and economic risk, judging from the results of the polls, these are not noticeably widespread. All of this impedes a transition to economic management methods. Certainly the main goal of this transition is to emancipate the creative forces of people and create powerful material incentives for high-quality labor. It is evident, however, that this task does not find a strong response in the mind of the people.

Firmly rooted in the public mind is a phenomenon which I would call socioeconomic infantilism. This is apparent in a naive certainty in the unlimited nature of the state's material and financial resources with the state obliged to satisfy the requirements of the citizens, regardless of how they work or what they produce. Even in the speeches of many of the USSR people's deputies at the congress, the certainty was voiced that the state has merely to actually want to and it will be able to both increase wages for those who do not earn much, reduce prices for food products and expand housing construction and do a mass of other things which will improve the lives of many millions of people. As for the dependence of the state's capabilities upon the efficient labor of its citizens, many simply do not pay any attention to such a dependence. Hence, the endless demands to increase the centralized allocation of resources for various social requirements, demands which are not backed up by economic studies as to where these resources are to be found.

Why in terms of his own life can each person realize that it is essential to correlate expenditures with income but on the social level this simple consideration is ignored? One of the possible explanations is that the increased expectations of the citizens in relation to the state are the result of the protracted dominance of a certain ideology. This ideology imposed on people the conviction that everything that they have is granted to them by the socialist state and to which they should show gratitude. The providing of permanent employment, the possibility of teaching children in school, free medical services, relatively cheap housing, the possibility of traveling to a vacation home and so forth and so forth—all of this has been interpreted not as the simple distribution of the goods produced by the people themselves but rather as an indicator of the concern of the authorities for their people. Now society is reaping the fruit of such an upbringing. For overcoming this socioeconomic infantilism and for raising the economic and political maturity

of public opinion, it is going to require a good deal of time and effort but this work must be done.

One other noteworthy feature of modern public awareness is its heterogeneity and the presence of a multiplicity of opposing judgments, opinions and interests on virtually every question. This trait was vividly demonstrated by the congress. Although its main aim was the achieving of consensus, in practice there was a very acute clash of both opinions as well as philosophies and interests standing behind them. The starkest differences were disclosed between the Muscovites and the "provincials," the intellectuals and the workers, the scientists and the remaining portion of the congress, military and civilians, city dwellers and country folk, those who control and those who are controlled, the residents of the Baltic Republics and the residents of the Central Asian Republics, the "radicals" and the "conservatives." And each of the sides, as a rule, did not make much of an effort to heed the arguments of the other. The discussion came down to a multiplicity of monologues the authors of which did not listen to one another.

An essential condition for efficient social administration is a reliable and complete knowledge of public opinion over the questions involving the vital interests of people. Here the administrative bodies should know not only the prevailing opinion, but also the specific opinions characteristic of the inhabitants of various regions, types of settlements, workers from different sectors, representatives of various nationalities, professions and demographic groups. To the question posed by sociologists of what information is most essential for their public activities, 60 percent of the people's deputies replied data on public opinion concerning problems being discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions and committees. In responding to this request, the VTsIOM intends to conduct research not only in the socioeconomic area but also the sociopolitical one. In the opinion of the collective, one of the main tasks of the center

should be to satisfy the requirements of the USSR people's deputies for nondepartmental, objective and procedurally reliable information on the ideas and opinions of social groups the interests of which touch on the laws being prepared and adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this context, study should be given to the question of the advisability of transferring the VTsIOM to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Of course, a study of the opinions functioning in a society is still not all that is required for social administration. It is essential to actively influence the opinions being shaped in the population and contribute to raising their competence, permanency, clarity and adequacy of expression. Only in effectively operating on public awareness is it possible to overcome those stereotypes of it which impede perestroika. And this, in turn, presupposes the free functioning of different opinions on the most urgent questions, the broad publishing of the results of sociological polls in the press, the clash of different viewpoints on TV and radio broadcasts, the conducting of open political debates between groups with different views and familiarizing the people with the opinions of leading scientists. In a majority of the highly developed nations, this has long become a permanent element in public life. We still have a long way to go in this direction. It is essential to overcome the technocratism of thinking characteristic of a majority of the representatives of executive power, achieve the dissemination of sociological knowledge and establish a base for the creative development of social sciences. The growing interest of administrative workers in public opinion, that is, its content, mechanisms of shaping and procedures of functioning, on the one hand, is a natural result and on the other, a most important prerequisite for the deepening of the democratization of society and the development of glasnost.

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